

INDEXED

SEP 6 '38

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

---

## CONTENTS

Stephen Elliott, First Bishop of Georgia

*Edgar L. Pennington*

•  
Beginnings in Japan

*J. Cole McKim*

•  
Massachusetts Diocesan Library

*Ann Maria Mitchell*

•  
The Reverend John Doty

*John W. Lydekker*

•  
**Reviews**

Doctrine in the Church of England. Report of the  
Commission on Christian Doctrine.

History of the Church of Our Saviour, Longwood, Mass.  
*Herbert H. Fletcher*

---

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

SEPTEMBER  
1938

PER YEAR  
\$4.00

PER COPY  
\$1.25

ZRA

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

---

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

THE REVEREND  
E. CLOWES CHORLEY, D.D., L.H.D.  
Garrison, New York

## ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

REV. G. MACLAREN BRYDON, D.D.  
Richmond, Virginia  
REV. JAMES A. MULLER, Ph.D.  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
REV. EDGAR L. PENNINGTON, S.T.D.  
Miami, Florida  
REV. WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D.  
New Brunswick, N. J.  
RT. REV. FRANK E. WILSON, D.D.  
Eau Claire, Wisconsin  
VEN. WILFRED R. H. HODGKIN, D.D.  
San Francisco, California  
REV. DU BOSE MURPHY  
El Paso, Texas

## BUSINESS MANAGER AND TREASURER:

THE REVEREND  
WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D.  
5 Paterson Street  
New Brunswick, N. J.

## JOINT COMMITTEE OF GENERAL CONVENTION:

### CHAIRMAN:

THE REVEREND  
WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D.  
5 Paterson Street  
New Brunswick, N. J.

### SECRETARY:

THE REVEREND  
G. MACLAREN BRYDON, D.D.  
110 West Franklin Street  
Richmond, Virginia

RT. REV. JAMES DEWOLFE PERRY, D.D.  
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS, D.D.  
RT. REV. JAMES M. MAXON, D.D.  
RT. REV. FRANK E. WILSON, D.D.  
REV. E. CLOWES CHORLEY, D.D.  
REV. E. L. PENNINGTON, S.T.D.  
HON. C. MCK. WHITTEMORE  
PROF. JOSEPH H. BEALE  
HON. ALEXANDER B. ANDREWS  
DR. FRANK W. MOORE

---

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J. Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Garrison, New York. All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

---

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.







# Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

---

VOL. VII

SEPTEMBER, 1938

No. 3

---

## STEPHEN ELLIOTT, FIRST BISHOP OF GEORGIA

*By Edgar Legare Pennington*

THE pioneer bishop of a great commonwealth should be a figure of interest; and this is doubly true when he may be regarded not solely as a pioneer in matters ecclesiastical but also as a pioneer in culture. Stephen Elliott, first Bishop of Georgia, was a man of foresight; he looked over the wide expanse of northern and western Georgia—a land but recently wrested from the Indians and presenting its first straggling towns and villages—and he pictured a busy, well-populated state, offering unending opportunities and resources. He was a man of broad and varied interests: a preacher whose gifts were recognised throughout the Episcopal communion, a founder of institutions of higher learning, the president of Georgia Historical Society. Bishop Elliott was one of the most prominent advocates of the right of the negro to enlightenment and justice; and he showed how a southern bishop, of patrician ancestry, dealt with the problem of slavery; his example suggests that when the cataclysm occurred, the slavery issue may well have been on its way to a peaceful solution.

In a study of Stephen Elliott, we are able to trace the evolution of the culture of the newer South. Around him clustered movements which gradually moulded a frontier state into a settled one. The Georgia which he first knew was largely the Georgia of the old communities—Savannah, Augusta, and the towns along the Atlantic seaboard; during his lifetime the other sections were rapidly filled by white settlers from another stock, who replaced the red men, and who were at work developing new plantations and industries and laying the foundations of a populous section.

Stephen Elliott was born in Beaufort, South Carolina, the 31st of August, 1806. He was the oldest son of Stephen Elliott, renowned

in his day as a scholar, a writer, and an enthusiastic student of science (especially of botany). The future bishop's mother was Esther Habershams, a member of one of Georgia's best known families; and Stephen Elliott himself always claimed that he belonged to the states of both his parents. In 1812, his father moved to Charleston; and Stephen was prepared for college at the school of Mr. Hurlburt, a successful local teacher. In the fall of 1822, he entered the sophomore class at Harvard. There he remained until the following year, when, at the desire of his father, who preferred that he graduate in his native state, he joined the junior class of the South Carolina College. Among his classmates were the Honourable James H. Hammond, later governor of South Carolina and United States senator, and the Honourable Thomas L. Withers, who became a distinguished jurist. Elliott graduated in 1825, with third honours. Immediately afterwards, he began the study of law in the office of Mr. James L. Petigru, one of the leading members of the South Carolina bar. Two years later he was duly admitted to his profession.

At that time, great political questions were shaking the country. The young lawyer took a lively interest in the controversy; he was a States' Rights advocate—in fact, throughout his whole life he supported that doctrine. He believed in the sovereignty of the states over the Union, and felt that such a sovereignty was the only effective check upon the usurpation of the central government, should the latter be controlled by class interests, party passion, or popular instability. In the words of Thomas M. Hanckel, "he loved his own State very dearly, and he believed that an honest, genuine, and practical love of the country was best felt and expressed in a just and generous love of the State."

His literary aspirations found an outlet in the old "*Southern Quarterly Review*," in which he collaborated with the brilliant Hugh Swinton Legare. Stephen Elliott, Sr., had founded this journal; and young Elliott worked enthusiastically for its success. In later years, he always spoke with pride of that periodical as a noble monument of the scholarship of his native state.

After practising law for several years in Charleston, young Elliott moved to Beaufort, where he continued his professional activity. Beaufort, an ancient and secluded town, was old St. Helena's parish in colonial days; many are its traditions and points of pride and interest. Elliott dearly loved the community and its people. There he found refinement and culture, a charm and courtesy, quite isolated from the turmoil of the world. It was at Beaufort that he made his decision to enter the ministry, even though for a young man of parts and family background it involved the sacrifice of a promising career as a lawyer.

In 1833, he was admitted a candidate for the ministry of the Episcopal Church; needless to say, he applied himself diligently to study. He

was ordained in the fall of 1835 by the right Reverend Nathaniel Bowen, D. D. (1779-1839), third Bishop of South Carolina. The ordination was held at Charleston; then for one month Elliott officiated as minister in charge of the parish of Wilton, South Carolina. His scholarship and eloquence had already attracted attention, however; and he was soon called to the work of teaching. He was elected to the chair of Sacred Literature and the Evidences of Christianity by the trustees of the South Carolina College; and the position of chaplain of that institution was attached to his program. In 1836, he was ordained priest.

One who knew him well has left us some reminiscences which help us to visualise Elliott as a young man, moulding lives in a southern college.

"Long of limb and tall of stature, with a full and vigorous frame, thoroughly yet easily erect, with full high brow, finely chiselled features and lofty crest; with a soft beaming blue eye and a complexion fair and fresh, without being ruddy; exquisitely graceful in his carriage, and quiet and easy in his movement, with his thin dark hair floating lightly around and from his head; his was a figure, as he passed along the crowded thoroughfare, upon which men turned to gaze, and the eyes of women rested with tenderness and veneration.

"His presence, though graceful, was eminently dignified and commanding. It quietly expressed a very sensitive deference for the opinions and feelings of others, ready to hear and quick to appreciate: yet a full and steady reliance on himself. . . . Often have we watched that tall and graceful figure come swinging along the College grounds in company with grave professor or cheerful student, in serious talk, or with his rich, soft, hearty laugh ringing out at some merry jest, and been conscious that a living grace was added to the picturesque scene within the bounds of the venerable school."<sup>1</sup>

At college, Elliott was greatly beloved. The same writer gives his testimony.

"We can say that each and every one of those whose names stand upon the roll of the proud old College in those bright days, as well as all others who watched and cherished its progress at that time, learned to love, admire, honor, and revere him there. He was the pillar, the pride and the ornament of the College. It was his *Alma Mater*, and he took the deepest interest in its welfare. Its students formed the congregation to whom he preached the Gospel, and over whose expanding thoughts and hearts he watched and prayed. He yearned to make it a school of high learning, a rich source of truth and refinement, and the centre of a generous intellectual citizenship to the State."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel*, p. vii.

<sup>2</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. vii.-viii.

He was not willing that the future leaders of the South should rest content while other sections outstripped them in intellectual pursuits. "Will you let other States breed your scholars?" he asked one of his classes. "And will you be content to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to them?"

"In his own person he showed how high and gracious a thing was the pure gift of learning and the culture of letters, the charm and the power of the scholar. In the lecture room his clear and vigorous analysis, and his rich, polished, and often passionate words, taught them how to think, and how to utter their thoughts. His hopeful voice cheered everybody. . . . He deeply and gladly sympathized with every aspiration after a higher culture, however humble. He encouraged each to do his best, although that best might be but little. To him the aspiration itself was a grace, the effort itself was elevating. To him there was every imaginable difference between the high aims of even the weak, and the dull recklessness of aimless strength."<sup>3</sup>

He loved books; and for his day, he was a connoisseur in printing, paper, and binding. The foundation of the new library building was laid under his auspices; and he watched and pushed forward its construction. When the books were at length brought into the building, he supervised their arrangement. After the classification was done, he turned to the students around him and said: "Now, young gentlemen, I will expect in after years, each one of you who can afford it, to bring some work of art, some statute, bust, or picture to adorn these alcoves."

Elliott filled the chair of professor but a short time. In 1840, he was elected first Bishop of Georgia. He took leave of the college in December of that year; and on the 28th of February, 1841, he was consecrated Bishop at Christ Church, Savannah, by William Meade (1789-1862), third Bishop of Virginia; Levi Silliman Ives (1797-1867), second Bishop of North Carolina; and Christopher Edwards Gadsden (1785-1852), fourth Bishop of South Carolina. He lost no time in the task of organising and building up the scattered and disorganised Church of his Diocese. At the time of his consecration, his jurisdiction contained only about three hundred communicants; its expansion and growth were largely the result of his remarkable qualities of leadership and aggressiveness.

The First Convention of the Diocese of Georgia was held at St. Paul's Church, Augusta, February 24th-28th, 1823, after previous notice given. The Reverend Abiel Carter, rector of Christ Church, Savannah, presided. Three clergymen attended—the Reverend Edmund Matthews, of Christ Church, St. Simon's Island; the Reverend Mr. Carter; and

<sup>3</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. viii.

the Reverend Hugh Smith, rector of St. Paul's, Augusta. There were five lay delegates present—Doctor J. B. Read and Mr. Peter Guerrard, both of Christ Church, Savannah; and Mr. John Course, Edward F. Campbell, Esq., and Doctor Thomas I. Wray, all of Augusta. Constitution and Canons were drafted and adopted; and delegates were elected to attend the General Convention. It was moved to draw up a suitable address to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the different parts of the state, in order to organise them in the movement. Bishop Nathaniel Bowen of South Carolina was invited to perform episcopal functions. It was resolved, "That a Society for the extension of religion in this State, be instituted and placed under the control of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Georgia"; and the Reverend Messrs. Carter and Smith were appointed to draw up a Constitution. They complied; and "The Protestant Episcopal Society for the General Advancement of Christianity in the State of Georgia" was the result.<sup>4</sup>

Progress was slow. On the 5th of March, 1825, sundry citizens of the town of Macon in Bibb county agreed to associate themselves as a congregation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to be known as Christ Church.<sup>5</sup> The infant Diocese received financial assistance from the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church; and the small congregations kept alive. At the 1835 Convention of the Diocese, application was made by the congregation of Trinity Church, Columbus, for admission.<sup>6</sup> In Lent, 1837, the Reverend John J. Hunt began to do missionary work at Athens, the seat of the State University; but he was handicapped by the fact that there was no place of public worship for him.<sup>7</sup> The opening of new fields of activity was evidence that, as the population of the state grew and spread westward, opportunities for the Episcopal Church came to light.

The Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Diocese was held in the parish of Grace Church, Clarksville, Georgia, May 4th-5th, 1840. Five churches were represented—Christ Church, Savannah; St. Paul's, Augusta; Christ Church, Macon; Trinity Church, Columbus; and the church which acted as host for the gathering. Grace Church was still incomplete; according to the report of the clergyman in charge, it was "but little else than a skeleton." The Reverend Ezra B. Kellogg had commenced holding services there, October 28th, 1838; the Methodists and Baptists were already established, and possessed their own buildings, and Mr. Kellogg had been invited to preach in the Methodist church, when that edifice was not otherwise in use. He had held serv-

<sup>4</sup>*Journal 1st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1823.*

<sup>5</sup>*Journal 3rd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1825, p. 5.*

<sup>6</sup>*Journal 13th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1835, p. 6.*

<sup>7</sup>*Journal 15th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1837, p. 11.*



ices there three Sundays a month, and had divided the rest of his time between Gainesville and Nacoochee; on Saturday evenings, he gave religious instructions. Thus he built up a church-school. Clarksville numbered only about three Episcopal families, who remained there the whole year, although several others spent the summers in that healthful altitude.<sup>8</sup>

At this Convention, the support of a bishop was brought up and discussed. A committee had been appointed the year before "to take into consideration the establishment of a fund for the support of the Episcopate in the Diocese of Georgia;" and in 1840, the members were able to report that \$1600 had been pledged already by the three parishes of Savannah, Macon, and St. Simon's, as an annual contribution, while the parish at Augusta stood ready to respond "in any amount that shall be awarded by the Convention, as the quota devolving upon her to provide." The rector of Trinity Church, Columbus, signified his parish's "willingness cordially to unite in any effort which might be made for the support of a Bishop, to the extent of their ability." An amended report showed a total pledge of Two Thousand Dollars for the Bishop's support, subscribed as follows:—Christ Church, Savannah, \$1000; St. Paul's, Augusta, \$500; Christ Church, Macon, \$300; Trinity Church, Columbus, \$100; Christ Church, St. Simon's, \$100. A delegate from Christ Church, Savannah, reported that it was expedient that a new parish be promptly formed in Savannah, "as thereby the Bishop elect might be settled in this city, and a larger fund for his support thus obtained, while it is at the same time desirable that there should be no division in this congregation, but that the parish thus formed should be connected with this church, thereby extending but not dividing the church." The vestry of Christ Church, therefore, had resolved that if a bishop be elected, a new parish under the name of St. John's Church should be formed and the rectorship of the same should be tendered to him, "with the express understanding that the Rector of that church, and the Rector of Christ Church, should alternate in the respective churches, and thus the interests of both be united." The Christ Church delegates were authorised to state that they were able to offer the Bishop elect a salary, which with the contributions of other churches would amount to \$3000, should he comply with the above conditions.

The proposition made by Christ Church was accepted; and it was unanimously resolved by the Clarksville Convention, that "whereas, although in the opinion of this Convention, the separation of the Episcopal office from a parochial charge is desirable, yet the Convention does not, under present circumstances, feel authorized to insist upon the separation—and therefore, also, that the Bishop of this Diocese be left

<sup>8</sup>*Journal 17th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1839, pp. 10-12.*

at liberty to accept such temporary parochial charge as the interest of the Church in this Diocese, may for the present require." Proceeding to election, the choice of the Convention was the Reverend Stephen Elliott, Jr., "Professor of the Evidences of Christianity and of Sacred Literature in the College of South Carolina." The election was unanimous.<sup>9</sup>

The first Convention over which the new Bishop presided was held at Christ Church, Macon, May 3rd-4th, 1841. There were nine clergymen, including the Bishop; and five churches were represented by lay delegates. At that time, St. Stephen's Church, Milledgeville, and the new parish of St. John's, Savannah, were formally admitted into the Convention. In his opening address, Bishop Elliott said that he had made his first visitations to the counties upon the sea-coast, beginning with the parish of Christ Church, St. Simon's Island, where he had held services March 14th, 15th, and 16th. There he preached twice to the negroes. "The whole population of this Island is Episcopal, with a single exception, and I was much gratified at the full attendance of the congregation at every service, although my first visit was made at a busy time with the planters." He found the church-edifice in "very excellent repair, and the grounds about it in that order which betokens an interest in its welfare." Accompanied by the Reverend Theodore B. Bartow, he journeyed to Darien, McIntosh county, where he officiated in the Presbyterian church three days. On Sunday night, the Episcopalians of the neighbourhood assembled at the house of Doctor James Troup; and a church was organised, under the title of St. Peter's Church, Darien. Wardens and vestrymen were elected. The Bishop felt that the number of churchmen in Darien was quite sufficient to support a church and afford a liberal salary. From Darien, he went to Glynn county; Bartow was still with him. He expressed his hopes that the members there would erect a church at some point central to Hopeton, Brunswick, and the Buffalo.

Back in Savannah, he consecrated St. John's Church—"a plain but neat edifice, capable of accommodating three hundred persons, well finished, and well furnished with all the requisites of a church." He preached the consecration sermon; and the same afternoon, he confirmed a class of fifteen in Christ Church.

At St. Paul's, Augusta, he had eighteen confirmations. "I found this church in an interesting spiritual state, and trust that the SPIRIT OF GOD will refresh it abundantly."

On the 15th of April, 1841, he was in Milledgeville, the state capital, where he officiated in both the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches. On Sunday afternoon, he preached in the chapel of Oglethorpe University. After services that night, an Episcopal congrega-

<sup>9</sup>*Journal 18th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1840.*

tion was organised under the name of St. Stephen's, with the election of wardens and vestrymen.

April 20th found him in Columbus. There the church was "in an active and rapidly growing condition." He officiated seven times in that place. "Almost free from debt, with a congregation moving together like a band of brothers, with one of the neatest and best ordered churches I have ever seen, in the midst of a rapidly increasing neighbourhood." From Columbus, he travelled to Macon, where he held services three days.

Even at this early date, Bishop Elliott was revolving plans for that adventure in the field of education which was destined to cause him so much anxiety and loss. He told the 1841 Convention that the Reverend Charles Fay, late of Vermont, was employed at Montpelier Springs, Monroe county, in the establishment of an Episcopal church in connection with an Episcopal institution. Through the generosity of G. B. Lamar, Esq., of Savannah, the Diocese was enabled to commence work at Montpelier. Lamar had purchased a beautiful spot known as the Montpelier Springs, and had presented it together with from seven to eight hundred acres of land as a gift to the Trustees of the Diocese. A school had been lately organised there by the election of Mr. and Mrs. Fay as instructors.

At this first Convention, the Bishop made an earnest plea for the religious instruction of the domestic servants and the negroes upon the plantations. "There is no arrangement of worship so well qualified as ours, to meet exactly the wants of our colored population. What they need is *sound religious instruction*. . . . There are very few colored persons of the State of Georgia who have not, within their reach, some kind of religious exercise; but it is, for the most part, a religion of excitement, occupied entirely with the feelings, while they need to be instructed in the first principles of the doctrine of Christ."

Some idea of the strength of the Diocese at the Bishop's coming may be gained from the statistics submitted to the Convention. Christ Church, Savannah, reported 160 communicants; St. Paul's, Augusta, 82; Christ Church, Macon, 55; Trinity Church, Columbus, 47; Christ Church, St. Simon's Island, 14; besides, the missionary at Lexington reported six, and Grace Church, Clarksville, the same number. St. Stephen's, Milledgeville, failed to give its membership.

The Reverend Mr. Fay reported the progress of the work at Montpelier. A temporary place of worship had been fitted up; he hoped that the Diocese would bear in mind this venture, and that it would become the permanent establishment of a Georgia Episcopal Institute. "It must be gratifying that this Diocese is now provided with the means of having their children educated according to the princi-



ples of the Church, in connection with the usual advantages of classical and academical attainments."<sup>10</sup>

A few weeks after his first Georgia Convention, Bishop Elliott preached (June 16th) before the Board of Missions, at St. James' Church, Philadelphia. His text was St. Matthew XII., 30: "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." The sermon was an eloquent plea for missionary zeal.

The 1842 Convention of the Diocese of Georgia was held at Trinity Church, Columbus, beginning May 5th. "The past year," said Bishop Elliott, had been "one of unexampled public depression and pecuniary embarrassment;" at the same time it had proved "one of steady spiritual improvement." It was evident from his address that the Bishop was keenly alert to his opportunity and elated at the signs of progress. After the last Convention, he had gone to Montpelier Springs for the purpose of organising the diocesan schools there and a church in connection with the same. He remained on the spot four days, arranging the details of the property. On the fourth Sunday after Easter, 1841, after confirming seventeen persons in the temporary chapel (fourteen being slaves), a church was organised under the name of St. Luke's Church, Montpelier Springs, Monroe County. From Montpelier he had gone to Forsyth, the county seat, where the Baptists had lent him their house of worship; he found several intelligent Episcopalians in the town. He visited Clarksville, Habersham county; but the church was still too incomplete for consecration.

On May 19th, 1841, the Bishop officiated at Athens, in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. "It was not deemed advisable to organize a church in Athens upon this visit, as there was no clergyman prepared to take charge of the congregation, but I feel satisfied that there will ultimately be no difficulty in establishing ourselves firmly at this important place." The next four days were spent at Lexington, Oglethorpe county, where several zealous families lived. They will be served once a month, he said, by the minister at Washington. The Reverend John J. Hunt resided at Washington; but beside his family there were only one or two individual churchmen in the town. "In the present condition of our Diocese," the Bishop declared, "it would be lost labour to attempt anything in this village."

While on his northern trip, Bishop Elliott visited New York and examined the schools at Flushing, so as to manage the Montpelier Institute more intelligently. He was enthusiastic over the prospects of the enterprise. The schools at Montpelier had flourished beyond his most sanguine expectations, so he told the Convention; and this in spite of obstacles and prejudice. The Bishop planned a stock farm, to be culti-

<sup>10</sup>*Journal 19th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1841.*

vated by a slave force owned by the Institute; this farm should pay all the expenses of the school, except the salaries of the instructors. As there would be no charge against the amounts received from tuition save the teachers' stipends, cheap instruction would be available.

The Bishop had visited various places of southeastern Georgia. The name of the parish at Darien had been changed from St. Peter's to St. Andrew's, as the town was situated in the old colonial parish of St. Andrew. The neighbourhood of Glynn county presented an interesting field for missionary work; though thinly settled, there was an immense number of slaves there.

In his Convention address, the Bishop advocated education with much zeal and spirit. He suggested that more schools could be established and supported in the same way that the Montpelier Institute was being made possible; and he advised that these schools be established at a suitable distance apart, and promised that as they increased in number, they would be furnished with the best teachers procurable from Europe or America. Would not the citizens of Georgia support him in this plan?

"It will remain with the citizens of Georgia to determine whether they will educate their children at their own doors, at a diminished expense as compared with a northern education, and upon religious principles, or whether they will still continue to drain the State of its resources and subject their children to the temptations necessarily incident to a residence remote from parental influence, and to the dangers arising from a change of constitution, by a long absence from the climate of the South at the most critical period of life."

Again the Bishop emphasized the white man's responsibility for the uplift and enlightenment of the negro. "It gave me pleasure to perceive upon my late visitation, how generally my suggestions of last year, in relation to the religious instruction of negroes, have been acted upon. At almost every point I found a Sunday school for their benefit in full operation, and, for the most part, well attended, and taught by the most intelligent members of the congregation." He took occasion to urge the clergy to persevere in this work, so as to produce "a body of well instructed coloured communicants in every Episcopal Church;" and called attention to the fact that the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians had been already going ahead with their efforts among the negroes. "While we give honor to whom honor is due; let us imitate their good example and strive to do our duty in connexion with those whom the Lord has committed to our especial keeping. It does not become us as the Church of Christ, whose treasures have always been the poor and the afflicted and the ignorant, to devolve the

slaves whom the Lord has entrusted to us, upon any other teaching than our own."

The Reverend Mr. Fay and his wife reported to the 1842 Convention that there were twenty-eight girls and seven boys enrolled in the schools, and two female assistant teachers beside the clergyman and Mrs. Fay.

"Our great effort has been to educate them thoroughly, as far as they go, in the useful and ornamental branches of knowledge, to elevate their tastes, to refine their manners, and above all, to bring them under those moral and religious influences, which will fit them for happiness here and hereafter."<sup>11</sup>

In the spring of 1842, Bishop Elliott conducted services in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches of Marietta; and in that town a parish was organised as St. James's. "Nothing could exceed the zeal with which the friends of the Church at that point entered upon the work of erecting a House to the Lord of Hosts." On the 30th of May, the wardens and vestrymen of Milledgeville selected the site of St. Stephen's Church. In the fall (October 10th), Grace Church, Clarks-ville, was at last consecrated—"a very neat wooden building, with tower and bell, prettily located, and an ornament to the village."

Meanwhile there were fine evidences of growth in the southern part of the Diocese. The Bishop baptised twenty-one negroes on St. Simon's Island—five by immersion. On the 25th of January, 1843, he consecrated St. David's Church in Glynn county—"a small but very neat country Church, built by five planters for the accommodation of their families and of such of the neighbourhood as may please to join with them." On the 17th of February, the cornerstone of St. Andrew's Church, Darien, was laid.

Bishop Elliott looked upon Darien as a unique outpost for the evangelisation of the negro. Its location served to place a thousand slaves under the direct pastoral care of the minister, and afforded scope for testing fairly the experiment of the "adaptedness of the Church" to the spiritual wants of the negroes. One-half of the slave-owners on the Savannah, the Altamaha, and the Satilla rivers, and the Sea Islands which skirt the Georgia coast, were Episcopalians; "and it is time they were awake to their responsibility in this matter," remarked the Bishop.

"But it is useless to rouse the Planters to their duty so long as the Ministers of the Church and her Candidates for Orders shut their eyes to the vast work which is here spread out before them. From this city (Savannah) we can look out upon, at least, ten thousand slaves whose masters are, for the most

<sup>11</sup>*Journal 20th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1842.*

part, willing too to pay that they might be instructed—especially anxious that they should have Episcopal instruction; and yet among all that vast multitude there is not heard the voice of a single Episcopal pastor. From the bluff at Darien, there are to be seen plantations containing five thousand slaves, and St. David's is the first Episcopal Church that has offered the glad tidings of great joy to their greedy ears. Lying between these points, and upon the islands to the East, are thousands more, and still no Pastor from their Master's Church tells them of their souls and of their Saviour."

On Palm Sunday, 1843, the Bishop consecrated St. James's Church, Marietta. "This is a very pretty Gothic Church, of rubble masonry, with tower and vestry, and capacious enough to accommodate some hundreds of persons." Marietta had made a record: within ten months of the organisation of the parish, the church had been built, paid for, and tolerably well furnished.

The educational work at Montpelier was moving ahead. By the spring of 1843, a building, known as Lamar Hall, had been fitted out for class-rooms, for the use of the teachers, and for the accommodation of ten pupils as a dormitory. A new school had been erected for the girls. A mile from Lamar Hall, a boys' school had been constructed with quarters for fifty boys, school rooms, music rooms, and apartments for the rector and his family, as well as for the officers of the institution. Montpelier had paid its expenses. "We ask nothing of the Church but its children," said the Bishop. "Fill our schools, and we shall have a clear income of seven thousand dollars over and above all expenses, which will be faithfully disbursed in rendering the Institute still more worthy of the Church's patronage." Bishop Elliott had engaged as teachers Mr. George M. Messiter, Bachelor of Arts of Wadham College, Oxford, as classical and mathematical usher of the boys' school—a man who came with testimonials from Doctor Thomas Arnold of Rugby and the tutors of the University; and a Mr. Berner, a graduate of Leipzig. Surely the Bishop had faith in his vision!<sup>12</sup>

It was in 1843 that the explosion of the "Peacemaker" caused the death of certain eminent persons. Bishop Elliott, aware of the tendencies of this young nation towards boastfulness and self-complacency, preached a splendid sermon, dwelling on the evils of pride, vanity, and absorption in wordly ambitions and pursuits. In the course of his remarks, he said:—

"If there is one sin more than another for which we stand conspicuous as a Nation, it is this sin of speaking exceedingly proudly. There is no limit to our *vain boasting*! If it were the boasting of a Christian people, rejoicing because the God

<sup>12</sup>Journal 21st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1843.

of Israel is their God, because the Redeemer promised to ages and generations is their Saviour, because the laws and the statutes of a Holy God are the provision of their moral code, because all the blessings which Christianity fetches in her train are richly showered upon their heads; it would enter as sweet incense into the presence of the Lord, and crown us and our children with a lasting and beneficial prosperity. But such is not our boasting! It is not in this God of Israel that we put our trust. It is not in this Redeemer that we rest as our strong tower and house of defense. It is not in the lofty morality of Jesus that we look for our success. It is not in the amelioration of Christianity that we triumph and exult. No. Our idols are our political institutions; our oracles are our frail, short-sighted fellow-creatures; our tower of strength is our numbers; our shield is the immensity of our domain, and the vastness of our resources; our rule of life is a tyrannous public opinion.

"In what has our proud boasting of the perfectibility of human nature under free institutions ended? In our being the by-word of the world as repudiators and faithless. In what has our own arrogant talk of the superior acuteness of our people resulted? In covering the land, from the one end to the other, with cunning and roguery. In what has our haughty maintenance of the freedom of opinion terminated? In every man's being afraid of having any opinion of his own; so that virtue and vice, justice and injustice, morality and immorality, stand upon the same platform, and are covered with the same mantle; and that, not a mantle of charity, but of fear."<sup>13</sup>

On the 12th of February, 1844 (the one-hundred-and-eleventh anniversary of the landing of General Oglethorpe) Bishop Elliott was the speaker before the Georgia Historical Society. In his address, he dwelt upon the circumstances attendant upon the founding of Georgia; he spoke of the philanthropic zeal of the great General. Surely an obligation rests upon the present generation. "Should we not march up to that great and noble end in the proper tone of mind and spirit, we should be derelict to the trust which has been committed to us."

"The highest civilization of a land is wrought out when the social, moral and religious elements become universal and harmonize the will of a *free people*. . . . It is this infusion into the mass of high principles, social, intellectual, moral, religious—it is this unity of purpose and of will for lofty ends—that is civilization."<sup>14</sup>

The 26th of October was a memorable occasion in the Episcopal Church. On that day, three missionary bishops were consecrated—

<sup>13</sup>*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hancckel, pp. 271-272.*

<sup>14</sup>*Elliott: A high civilization the moral duty of Georgians (address before the Georgia Historical Society).*



William Jones Boone (1811-1864), first missionary Bishop of China; George Washington Freeman (1789-1858), missionary Bishop of Arkansas, with provisional charge of Texas; and Horatio Southgate (1812-1894), missionary Bishop in the dependencies of the Sultan of Turkey. The consecration sermon was preached by Bishop Elliott, in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. His keen interest in missions, both foreign and domestic, had made him a conspicuous figure in the Church, even as a young man. "It seems as if God, in His wise Providence, has cast upon England and these United States the conversion of the world," he said. "None other of the civilized nations of the earth are in a condition to take any large part in this glorious enterprise. Some are hindered by position, having but little maritime connection with the rest of the world and lacking the missionary zeal which would lead them to seek it. Others are disabled by the withering blight of rationalism, from doing more than preserving alive upon their own altars the light of Gospel truth. Others, again, are overlaid by superstition and idolatry, and, in their missionary ardor, are disseminating falsehood instead of truth." So an awful responsibility rests upon the Anglican communion.

"As the Lord opens the world before us, and we become more prominently the stewards and dispensers of the mysteries of grace, let us strive and pray that we may be permitted to guard with jealousy his *Holy Ark*, and present her ever to the world, under one unchangeable aspect—CATHOLIC, for every truth of God,—PROTESTANT, against every error of man!"<sup>15</sup>

On the second Sunday in July, 1843, Bishop Elliott consecrated St. Michael's Church, Effingham county—a small wooden building, but "very neat." The membership consisted principally of Families from Savannah.

During the year 1843, the Bishop admitted into the Diocese the Reverend Jonathan B. T. Smith, a Virginian, who offered to serve as a missionary among the negroes at a station in Baker county not far from the town of Albany. The spirit shown by this volunteer in a lowly and difficult service received special commendation; the Bishop expressed the hope that the example might "excite others to devote themselves in like manner to the same cause of true missionary benevolence."

Etowah River, Cass county, was visited the same year; and steps were taken towards forming a parish there. Bishop Elliott preached at the Baptist house of worship; and from the response, he determined to start a movement towards the erection of a church, a parsonage, and a

<sup>15</sup>Elliott: *Sermon preached in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1844*, p. 15.

school in that rich farming neighbourhood. In the rising town of Rome, Floyd county, where he had preached in the court house November 12th, 1843, he found that a parish was organised. The services held by him at the Friendship Meeting House, Long's Ferry, Etowah River, rounded out his work in northwest Georgia during 1843.

Emmanuel Church, Athens, was consecrated by Bishop Elliott, November 19th, 1843. "This is a very beautiful edifice, with about four hundred sittings finished and furnished in a most excellent taste. It is surmounted by a very handsome spire and has recently been provided with an organ of fine compass. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the energy and perseverance of the handful of Episcopalians who have raised such a structure to the glory of God and I trust that it will be richly rewarded into their bosoms and the bosoms of their children."

On the 10th of December, 1843, he consecrated St. Stephen's Church, Milledgeville. "The interior of this little church is remarkably beautiful and commands the admiration of all who visit it. It is finished and entirely paid for, and the congregation is prepared to go forward without embarrassment of any kind."

From the 13th of December, 1843, to the 1st of January, Bishop Elliott was engaged in a visitation of Florida, at the request of the Standing Committee of that newly formed Diocese. (Florida had formed itself into a Diocese in 1838; but had no bishop of its own till 1851). Bishop Elliott made the rounds of Tallahassee, Monticello, Quincy, and Apachicola; but he found that the addition of such a large spiritual supervision to his regular duties was a truly appalling prospect. Nevertheless, he declared that it was his duty to visit Florida, else the churches there would be left without episcopal oversight.

Early in 1844, he visited Albany, and conducted services in the school-house of that village before a very large and attentive congregation. The following night he explained to the local citizens the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church, and organised the parish of St. Paul's, Albany. A subscription of about \$750 was made for erecting a church.

At the 1844 Convention (held at St. Paul's, Augusta, May 2nd), besides reporting his activities during the last twelve months, the Bishop made a plea for the Indians as a missionary obligation and responsibility. "Is it not our Christian duty to repay some of these riches, for their worldly things, to send unto them spiritual things?" The memory of trouble with the Indian tribes was fresh upon the minds of the people of Georgia; feeling was very strong. Always Bishop Elliott stood on the side of justice and human brotherhood.<sup>16</sup>

On the 15th of June, 1844, the Bishop visited St. Mary's, Camden

<sup>16</sup>*Journal 22nd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1844.*

county; and preached in the Presbyterian church. On the 18th, he organized a church there, as the Church of the Messiah, and constituted it a missionary station. In April of the following year, he felt suddenly called to assume personal control of the Montpelier Institute. The duties of administering its affairs proved very confining; but there was no way of preserving this valuable property to the Diocese and this excellent school to the state. Because of the difficulty of procuring a suitable headmaster, as well as its too close proximity to the Female Institute, he had been compelled to close the boys' school; though he was convinced of the need of such an institution, and suggested that the same be re-established somewhere northwest of the Chattahoochee River. The Reverend Thomas F. Scott had opened a female institute at Marietta; and two very competent lady teachers had been engaged.<sup>17</sup>

Bishop Elliott's direct supervision of the female school rendered it advisable for him to be on the scene; so he removed his residence to Montpelier. June, 1845, was spent in organising the institution. He found that it took on new life during the next year; in point of efficiency, discipline, and instruction it surpassed its former record. The steady support of the Church was essential, however, to its well-being. "Its corp of teachers is the best which I have been able to procure either in this country or in Europe, no pains and no excuse having been spared for that purpose. Its apparatus for Philosophical and Artistical instruction has been purchased from the best mechanics and artists of London and almost every day is adding something to the facilities for improvement offered to our pupils. The place has been very much beautified within the year, and we are now engaged in finishing a fourth building." In the Montpelier project, the Bishop had gone forward single-handed. The Institute had never received from the Church a dollar, he said; hence he felt bold to ask the Church to provide a chapel, to make the establishment complete. There was much need of the same.

During the last year, Bishop Elliott travelled nearly six thousand miles; in addition to his own diocesan ministrations, he made three visits to Florida. On the 22nd of June, 1845, he consecrated the Church of the Ascension, on the Etowah River in Cass county, in the north-western part of the state. The new edifice was beautifully located near the bank of the stream.<sup>18</sup>

At the 1847 Convention, held at Christ Church, Savannah, the Church of the Ascension, Etowah Valley, and St. Philip's Church, Atlanta—now a growing town, were admitted into union with the Diocese. The outlook, however, gave some occasion for anxiety; Bishop Elliott

<sup>17</sup>*Journal 23rd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1845.*

<sup>18</sup>*Journal 24th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1846.*



noted that some of the churches, which had started out under the most flattering auspices, were in a state of struggle.

"This period of gloom and almost hopelessness every new Parish must encounter and overcome. Upon the first introduction of the Church into any neighbourhood, many motives concur to make it acceptable with the people. Its novelty, the education of its clergy, the desire of having an edifice that may ornament the rising town, the hope of attracting settlers by the introduction of a form of worship most current among the rich and educated of the land, gather around it a number of adherents who are seeking their own and not the things of Jesus Christ. For a time this flatters the hopes and enlarges the expectations of the Missionary and he fancies that his course will be one of rapid and unchanging success. But the scene soon changes, the novelty is past, the worldly objects are obtained, false friends fall away, persecution begins its bitter work and the Pastor and the people are permitted to perceive and understand their real and permanent strength. And now ensues the real struggle—the struggle for faith and of endurance—a struggle which never ends but in one way, if her ministers and members are true to themselves, the complete triumph of the Church."

Macon and Columbus had suffered reverses. After two or three years of labour, the town of Macon had been utterly prostrated under one of those whirlwinds of religious excitement; all but the really true were swept away. Columbus, deluded by a fictitious prosperity, had built a very expensive church; when the reaction set in, the members were threatened with the sheriff's hammer.

On the Sunday before the annual commencement of the University of Georgia, Bishop Elliott had preached to the graduating class. The young men of the state were turning to their own institution in increasing numbers, and the University was regarded as a stabilising force and a witness for light and learning.

In another part of the state, the Bishop found an encouraging movement. In April, 1847, he visited the mission on the north side of the Great Ogeechee River, and found a neat country church erected by the planters of that section, though not ready for consecration. The Reverend William C. Williams was identifying himself with the spiritual condition of the negroes, going in and out among them as their pastor and guide. Commenting on this work, Bishop Elliott said:—

"The impression is that the negroes are averse from the services of our Church. It is a great mistake, except so far as that aversion may have arisen from ignorance and neglect. Let a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church settle anywhere in

the midst of them and make himself comprehended among them, and minister at their sick-beds, and be with them in their moments of temptation and affliction, and prove himself their friend and teacher, and very soon will they welcome him to their hearts with the same true and warm affection with which they now cling to those who now labor among them."

At this Convention, the Reverend John James Hunt reported that he had engaged since November, 1846, in missionary duty at Atlanta and Jonesboro; but that he was prevented from holding services in those places as often as he desired, because of their distance from him and the want of any house specially appropriated to religious purposes. The academy was the only building in Atlanta which could be used; and all denominations shared in it. The number of communicants in both places was small. At Jonesboro, the Methodist church was available.<sup>19</sup>

At the Convention held in St. James's Church, Marietta, May 4th, 1848, Zion Church, Talbotton, and the Church of the Messiah, St. Mary's, Georgia, were received into full connection with the Diocese. It was then that Doctor William Bacon Stevens, whose scholarship and eminent standing had given the Episcopal Church so much prestige at the State University and throughout Georgia, gave notice of his removal to Philadelphia. (Doctor Stevens was consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1862). His departure was a distinct loss to the Church; and at a time when the enthusiasm which greeted Bishop Elliott's first labours seemed to be subsiding, Georgia could ill afford to give him up. As an example of the struggles of the little congregations, it was said that at Rome "our little flock has been bandied about from place to place till we have at last taken refuge in the Court House." But a church building had been started at Talbotton, and there the congregations averaged two hundred.<sup>20</sup>

From small beginnings, the growth of Atlanta was notable. On the 28th of May, 1848, Bishop Elliott consecrated St. Philip's Church there—"a small, but neat Church edifice, erected at moderate cost, but yet quite large enough to accommodate any congregation that may be formed even in that rapidly increasing town for many years to come." The Bishop remarked, that "the policy which has been pursued at Atlanta in erecting a small, but cheap Church, is that which should guide us in carrying forward a weak Diocese, like ours. It is not likely that the Episcopal Church will increase rapidly in any of the towns or villages of a diocese so unaccustomed to its forms or usages, and in many places so prejudiced against its teachings. Our progress must necessarily be slow, and a generation must elapse before we can expect to have even a

<sup>19</sup>*Journal 25th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1847.*

<sup>20</sup>*Journal 26th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1848, p. 20.*

fair hearing before the people. In the meantime that generation must be made acquainted with the Church, must learn that she unites truth of doctrine with all her other recommendations, and that she is not obnoxious to the charges which are so freely lavished upon her." He suggested that from six to eight hundred dollars should suffice for such buildings as were needed, thus avoiding debts on churches and reserving the funds for the support of missionaries. To future generations might be left the task of building the more costly structures.

The Church at Talbotton was used for public worship on Good Friday, 1849, for the first time; it was nearing completion. There were seven candidates for the ministry in the Diocese at the time of the Convention.<sup>21</sup>

In May, 1850, the Bishop laid the cornerstone of a new church in Augusta—the Church of the Atonement. On July 6th, 1850, he consecrated St. Peter's Church, Rome. "This is a very neat building, beautifully located upon one of the hills which overlook the town and accommodating about three hundred persons. It is entirely finished and furnished with a neat fence enclosing the church, and has all been paid for through the liberality of this and the adjoining Diocese of South Carolina." He officiated in Vann's Valley, near Cave Springs, July 10th and 11th of the same year.

Regular Episcopal services were begun in Madison, in November, 1850. The congregation there was composed almost wholly of families and persons who had recently settled in that town, as those old-time residents who had once been churchmen had been lost for want of their own ministrations. The Madison congregation used the Town Hall, for which a rent of fifty dollars was charged. The missionary, the Reverend B. Elliott Habersham, supplemented his stipend by teaching in the local Male Academy; once a month he visited Union Point for services.

The negro mission on the Ogeechee River was growing. Nearly every planter on the northeast side of the Great Ogeechee had placed his slaves under the care of the missionary. "If I am not very much deceived in my expectations," said Bishop Elliott, "the time will soon come when these people will flock as doves to our windows, and the missionary will reap a full harvest in answer to his prayers and labors."

The parish of St. Paul, Albany, had become extinct; the Bishop undertook to reorganise it. He expressed the hope that a church edifice would soon rise there.

He had visited several plantations in different parts of Georgia, and had baptised the slaves. On the estate of Major Thomas M. Nelson, of Columbus, he found all the servants gathered for his coming and the

<sup>21</sup>*Journal 27th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1849, pp. 9ff.*

children awaiting baptism. Eighteen negro children were baptised, with Major and Mrs. Nelson acting as sponsors along with the parents.

At the 1851 Convention (Trinity Church, Columbus, May 8th), where report was made of the signs of progress, in Augusta, Rome, Madison, and among the negroes, there were three new churches admitted into communion with the Diocese—the Atonement, Augusta; the Church of the Advent, Madison; and St. Paul's, Augusta. But it must have been with a heavy heart that the Bishop recounted the loss of his darling project, the female academy at Montpelier. "In consequence of the very heavy debt and claims upon the Montpelier Institute and the unavoidable accumulations upon that debt and these claims, the affairs of the Institute were brought to a close during the autumn of the last year, and the whole property was sold at sheriff's sale." Mr. Joseph Story Fay, of Savannah, bought it at \$13,000. Bishop Elliott and the Trustees felt that it should be redeemed. Through the liberality of the churches of Savannah, Columbus, and Macon, the amount of the money for its re-purchase was made up; and Mr. Fay agreed to accept the amount paid at the sale. The interest accrued—some four or five hundred dollars—he readily waived. Once more the property was secure to the Diocese; but the Bishop had learned that whole-hearted support and patronage could not be assured. He begged the Church to lend its co-operation; and promised that nothing would be left undone on his part, to make Montpelier a school fit for the education of the children of refined and Christian parents. The delegates assembled at the Convention recorded their resolution that Montpelier Institute was in their opinion "an important and efficient ancillary in planting and sustaining of the Church in Georgia, and as such should be liberally and constantly supported."<sup>22</sup>

Bishop Elliott visited Madison, June 1st, 1851, and confirmed two persons. The congregation still used a temporary place of worship, but had collected funds to start a church-building. July 6th, 1851, he visited Atlanta; the communicants there numbered fifteen. The outlook was promising. In addition to the church, there was a comfortable parsonage and there was a small school-house. The same month, he attended a convention held in Marietta, for the purpose of considering the best means of diffusing through the state of Georgia the blessings of education. Although this convention adjourned without any practical results, the Bishop felt that it should produce great advantages to the state. Episcopalians should especially try to combat ignorance, he said; their service is liturgical, and a want of letters is almost a bar to any connection with the Church. "Every clergyman and layman should therefore strive to remove that ignorance, the fruitful parent of preju-

<sup>22</sup>*Journal 29th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1851.*

dice and suspicion, and to enable every individual to feel that the prayer book does not stand as a dark mystery between him and the Church of Christ." The missionary in charge of the Church of the Ascension, on the Etowah River, had moved to Calhoun, where he also planned to officiate.

The Bishop ordained Mr. Sherod W. Kennerly, formerly a Methodist minister, on November 9th, 1851. The Reverend Mr. Kennerly, as a deacon, decided to devote himself entirely to the negroes upon the plantations on the Savannah River, adjoining the city of Savannah. "The planters have freely opened their plantations to his instruction, and have made arrangements for his proper support." On the 29th of January, 1852, the beautiful Church of the Atonement, Augusta—finally completed—was consecrated.

Bishop Elliott visited Albany and the plantations in the surrounding country about that time. He confirmed as many as twenty-two negroes on one plantation; ten negroes on another; eight on still another; then two more—forty-four confirmations among the slaves of a single parish. In this response he recognised "a deliberate withdrawal from the miserable system under which they had been living, and a voluntary transfer of their allegiance to the Church." The confirmations had been performed "not hastily, nor unadvisedly, but after several years of faithful instruction and earnest teaching." The negroes seize upon the services of the Church "with avidity as soon as anybody will take the pains to win their confidence and enlighten their ignorance," the Bishop declared; "but it would be worse than useless to waste one's time in dealing with them, except upon the determination of devoting one's self to their instruction." The wardens and vestry of St. Paul's, Albany, had contracted for a church, to cost \$4,000.

On the 2nd of May, 1852, Bishop Elliott consecrated the new edifice of Christ Church, Macon, which replaced the original building. The cost was about \$15,000; the Church was large and capacious. Of that sum, the ladies raised \$2,315 by selling their own needlework; the young men of the parish raised a large part of the money for furnishing the building; and one young man gave a Sunday-school library of a hundred volumes. "The children of the congregation have been catechised monthly, and have made their usual contribution to education in the mission school in Africa."

A philanthropic enterprise was reported to the 1852 Convention, on the part of St. Paul's Church, Augusta. That parish had begun a movement for "a Church Widows' and Orphans' Asylum;" a house for the same had been purchased, for nine hundred dollars.<sup>23</sup>

In December, 1852, Bishop Elliott resigned his position at Mont-

<sup>23</sup>*Journal 30th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1852.*



pelier; he felt that the institute no longer needed his presence, so he placed the school in charge of an experienced lady, Miss M. M. Buell, and invited the Reverend Rufus M. White, formerly of St. John's Church, Savannah, to accept the rectorship of the Institute. The Reverend Seneca G. Bragg continued there. The Bishop begged the Diocese, in his address before the 1853 Convention, to use every exertion not to permit an Institute to go down, which had been built up at the expense of so much sacrifice and suffering.

After leaving Montpelier, Bishop Elliott assumed charge of Christ Church, Savannah. A woman of that city, Mrs. Dorothea Abrahams (who died in February, 1853), left a legacy of a thousand dollars, for the erection of a free Episcopal Church for the poor and the stranger in Savannah. This gift was augmented by subscription; and a lot was purchased for the church on the corner of Broad and Robert street.

The Bishop consecrated Zion Church, Talbotton, April 28th, 1853. This "very pretty house of worship" had been erected through the indefatigable exertions of the Reverend Richard Johnson, who had spent several years in collecting the necessary funds and putting up the building.

Progress was evident among the coloured people. In the Savannah River mission, which embraced seven large plantations, the Rev. Sherod W. Kennerly reported 125 baptisms during the year, 69 negro confirmed persons, and two hundred children connected with the Sunday-school. The Reverend William C. Williams, of the Ogeechee mission, could enumerate 45 baptisms, 43 confirmed persons, and ninety communicants; likewise, two hundred negro pupils in the mission school. "The night of prejudice has passed away," said Mr. Williams; "and, with the continuance of God's blessing, the Church will reap an abundant harvest."<sup>24</sup>

The Bishop consecrated St. John's Church, Savannah, on the 7th of May, 1853. This "new and beautiful church edifice" represented the old parish of St. John's, but stood upon a new site. On the 7th of August, 1853, the Church of the Advent, at Madison, was consecrated—"a very neat, though small church edifice." On the 12th of August (five days later), the Bishop consecrated the Church of the Good Shepherd, Cave Springs, "a very beautiful little church. . . . It has been erected through the energy of a single family, and will be very useful so soon as we shall be able to get a minister there, who shall be able to devote his whole time to its services." The next day, fifteen persons were confirmed at St. Peter's, Rome. "It gives me pleasure to state at every point which I have visited during the past year there is a visible and steady growth of the Church." The Montpelier Institute was

<sup>24</sup>*Journal 31st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1853.*

flourishing after its period of depression. Doctor Ralph E. Elliott, of Savannah, had left a thousand dollars in trust to the Bishop, as the foundation of a fund, the income to be used for the support of the widows and orphans of the deceased clergymen. The trust was to accumulate at compound interest for ten years before being used.<sup>25</sup>

Savannah was at that time a city of over twenty thousand; the Reverend Thompson L. Smith had entered on his duties as city missionary there, November 15th, 1852. It was designed that he "might minister to the poor, the afflicted and the unfortunate, who had not been gathered into any fold; and besides, to look after the spiritual wants of strangers and adventurers." He might extend his care to the dying in the hospital, and visit the prisoners. A salary for his support was soon raised.<sup>26</sup>

White's *Historical Collections*, published in 1854, contained a notice of the Georgia Episcopal Institute. Located at Montpelier, Monroe county, about seventeen miles from Macon, fourteen miles from Forsyth, and six from the Macon & Western Railroad, "its advantages are not surpassed by those of any school in the United States. Until the property was purchased by Mr. Lamar"—George B. Lamar, formerly of Savannah—"it was a favourite resort for invalids, who were attracted by its medicinal springs, healthful climate, and delightful temperature. Its natural beauties, which are rarely equalled, have been improved with the finest taste. The visitor needs only to see its extensive lawn, majestic groves, shady walks, beautiful gardens, and spacious buildings, to be in love with the spot. The course of instruction is thorough and complete, embracing every item that can contribute to fit a lady for the first station in society. Its teachers are persons of high character and first-rate abilities. It may be truly said that in this school true religion, useful learning, and polished refinement, are inseparably united."<sup>27</sup>

Hanckel tells us how Bishop Elliott, in the early days of his episcopal administration, sacrificed his private fortune and reduced himself to poverty and want in his uncalculating efforts to establish an eminent school for female education in the centre of his Diocese. He had a high estimate of the blessings of a thorough education, and was by nature enthusiastic; hence he founded the school at Montpelier, for the instruction of the young women of the Diocese in those accomplishments which a Christian woman of position and refinement should possess. Large sums had to be spent in erecting the buildings and obtaining the necessary equipment; the Bishop would have everything up to the best standard. When the funds at his disposal were exhausted, he pledged his private property and credit for completing the undertaking. The obli-

<sup>25</sup>*Journal 32nd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1854.*

<sup>26</sup>*Journal 31st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1853.*

<sup>27</sup>*White: Historical Collections, Georgia, pp. 562-563.*

gations were fully met; but he was left without a dollar. In fact, he had scarcely the means of providing for his family. "He had been accustomed from early youth to the refinement, independence and dignity of an ample fortune. He had never known what it was to owe what he could not punctually pay. The cares, anxieties and heavy burdens therefore of this period of his life were keenly felt, and his spirit was deeply wounded. But he met them all with the firmness, patience, gentleness, and humility of one who had counted the cost of his holy service."<sup>28</sup>

On the 24th of April, 1855, Bishop Elliott confirmed twenty-six negroes in the chapel on the plantation of the late Arthur Heygood, in the Ogeechee mission. "It offered me another striking proof of the adaptedness of the Church to these persons, when enforced by a perseverance which will not grow weary, and a faith which will not falter, in the missionary who labors among them. Ten years had elapsed since Mr. Williams"—the Reverend William C. Williams—"had entered upon this work, and although he had passed many weary and seemingly fruitless hours, he was now blessed in seeing them flock as doves to their windows and in finding himself surrounded by an attached and grateful flock, who were growing in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord."

Considerable progress had been made by this time in the parish of St. James, Marietta; that congregation afforded an example of "encouragement for all those clergymen of the Church . . . who may be striving to build up the Church in difficult places. Founded about twelve years since, in a town emerging just from the woods, it has already attained a standing which places it among the leading congregations of the Diocese. And during these years, it was, at one time, from emigration reduced to one single communicant outside the Rector's household. Had it been then abandoned, we should, probably, have been obliged to struggle for years to regain our position. But perseverance has overcome all difficulties." St. James's numbered seventy communicants in 1855.

"We cannot expect, as a Church, to make any very rapid growth in any part of the Southern States. So long did it lie neglected after the revolution—so much like a stepmother did the Church treat her children, that in all the newly settled portions of the Southern States, she was as much ignored as if she had been driven out with the monarchy. Even in South Carolina, one of the strongest of all the colonial Churches, it has been, and still is, a work of exceeding difficulty, to build up the Church in its Western districts; and I can remember, after I became a man, when there was no Episcopal church in that State above Columbia. It is only by long and steady devotion, by an earnest and prayerful perseverance that we can recover

<sup>28</sup>*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, p. xi.*



the ground we have lost, and re-establish our liturgical services and pastoral system and Episcopal supervision. One generation, at least, must pass away, ere we can become a Church, running an equal race with the forms of worship which prevail around us. We must plant Churches and sustain Ministers wherever we can, so as to cover as large a field as our limited resources will admit. We must raise up Ministers of the Gospel from the soil, and thus interest local circles in the ministry: and above all must preach the gospel faithfully and earnestly and we need not trouble for the consequences."<sup>20</sup>

St. Paul's Church, Albany, was consecrated by Bishop Elliott on the 16th of May, 1855; the building was capable of seating about two hundred and fifty persons, and was "very completely finished." Eight days later, the Bishop visited Americus and held a baptism; he felt that a mission could be established there successfully.

On the 10th of February, 1856, the largest confirmation ever held in the Diocese up to that time took place in the Ogeechee mission. 148 candidates, all of the negro race, were presented—"most of whom were young people, that had been trained under the direct supervision of the Missionary, and were well instructed in the services of the Church and the duties of the Christian." On that occasion, the Bishop consecrated "a very comfortable Church, under the title of St. James' Church, Great Ogeechee."

"The longer I observe the workings of this Mission, the better am I satisfied that we could get under our control, and bless with our instructions almost the whole slave population of the Seacoast, if the Masters would only do their duty, and if Ministers could be found who would devote themselves to this work. And I feel the more anxious upon this subject, because I am more and more confirmed in my opinion that the negroes need more instruction than they can receive from any itinerancy, and that the settled pastoral system of the Church, together with its Liturgical forms, is the best suited to their spiritual condition. It is manifest before our eyes all over our Diocese, of how little avail is declamatory teaching, accompanied by temporary excitement, unless there shall have been a long previous course of instruction in the doctrines of the gospel. We must first teach men what the truth is, before we can effectually urge them to embrace it. Exhortation is to succeed, or, at the utmost, accompany instruction, otherwise it excites the feelings, without changing either the will, or the life."

The Bishop complained that, while fully two-thirds of the slave-owners of Georgia's seaboard were nominal Episcopalians, only two missions existed along the whole coast of the state. He asked the reason why. It was not because the masters take no interest in the negroes' spiritual welfare, he averred; or that they were unwilling to

<sup>20</sup>*Journal 33rd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1855.*

expend the money. "The main reason is, because the Masters will continue, in spite of all the evidence from North and South Carolina, and now from the indubitable success of Mr. (the Reverend William C.) Williams, stubbornly of the opinion, that the services of the Episcopal Church are not suited to the negroes, and that they can not be made to give in their adhesion to it. . . . But only let the Masters take firm ground upon this subject; let them combine and secure an Episcopal Minister, who shall be devoted to the sole care of their negroes, and I will warrant you, that if he be a Minister of a right spirit, ten years shall not have elapsed, before he will be well beloved among them, the pastor of their affections, as well as of their choice." Bishop Elliott urged the young ministers to consider this work among the negroes, as "one of the noblest and most Christian which can now engage their peaceful consideration. It is Africa at home—it is missionary work, demanding quite as much self-denial, self-discipline, and self-sacrifice, as any they may undertake abroad."

In December, 1855, it was decided at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Montpelier Institute to close the school. The experiment had been fairly made, since 1850, to carry it on under the best auspices. No such response or patronage had resulted, as to warrant its continuance; a noble enterprise had failed. Bishop Elliott had witnessed the doom of a cherished project and had experienced great personal loss. "Possessing no endowment," he said, "it required an unfailing number of pupils to pay its current expenses, and those pupils could not be regularly counted upon; any epidemic that might pervade the country, any change in the superintendence of the school, any idle report that might get abroad respecting its management, subjected us to a loss of pupils, and consequently to the hazard of incurring a debt, for which there was no recourse but the purse of the Church."

"So long as we are in the flesh, we must be sharers in the good and evil of the world, and every revolving year will make its impress upon us as a Diocese, as surely as it does upon us as individuals. . . . When schemes in which we have taken deep interest are permitted to fail—when friends whom we have loved and counselled with are removed by death—when clergymen who have borne with us the heat and burthen of the day, have been carried off to other spheres, we cannot but feel sad, however rich may have been the compensation which a loving Father has provided for us. But still, these are only the Changes which advancing life forces us to witness, and which are unfelt by those who are rising to take our places, with the energy of youth and of hope. . . . Our consolation is that we are advancing, however slowly, and that a retrospect of a few years will satisfy us that we have much cause for gratitude and encouragement, in the midst of our sorest disappointments."

Bishop Elliott consecrated St. Andrew's Church, Darien, on the 29th of March, 1856. The Church was finished, and all its debts paid.<sup>30</sup>

The Savannah River mission, which was commenced in January, 1856, in connection with the plantations on the river and limited itself to the negroes of Savannah, showed promise from the start. Its place of worship, St. Stephen's Chapel, was sustained by the two parishes of the city—St. John's and Christ Church; and in 1857, there were 125 pupils in the Sunday-school. For sometime preceding the 1857 Convention, Bishop Elliott had been in poor health, and he had spent two months in Cuba recuperating. Still he had found time to conduct services in Tennessee, in addition to his regular duties.<sup>31</sup>

We now come to the steps which led to the founding of the University of the South. On the 4th of July, 1857, Bishop Elliott attended a meeting of bishops, clergy, and laity, convened at Lookout Mountain, Tennessee, for the purpose of organising a southern university. Delegates were present from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The meeting was opened with religious exercises; and there followed an oration by the Right Reverend James Hervey Otey (1800-1863), Bishop of Tennessee, explaining the project. A second meeting was held in November. The Right Reverend Leonidas Polk (1806-1864), Bishop of Louisiana, was a guiding spirit in the movement.

In his address to the 1858 Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, Bishop Elliott explained the purpose of the proposed institution. The northern and northwestern dioceses of the Episcopal Church were already provided with literary and theological institutions of a high character, he said; Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia likewise possessed church colleges and theological seminaries, either established or promised. South of those states, all attempts to found an Episcopal college had failed, because the Church in no single diocese was strong enough to furnish the proper endowment or ample patronage. Even if such colleges had continued to live, they would have produced no lasting benefit to the Church, and they would have had only a precarious existence.

"Observing this condition of things, the happy idea struck the Bishop of Louisiana that the Dioceses, thus situated, might do by combination what they could not effect alone, that they might by an union of the wealth and intelligence which belongs to the Church from Virginia to Texas, build up an University, which should not only place the Episcopal Church in its true position before the country, but elevate the standing of scholarship throughout the South. It was a felicitous idea, and with that noble energy and practical power which characterize the

<sup>30</sup>*Journal, 34th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1856.*

<sup>31</sup>*Journal, 35th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1857.*

man, he took immediate steps to infuse his own enthusiasm into his brethern of the Episcopal Bench, and secure their co-operation in embodying the conception which stirred within his own mind. This he did with singular effect, and a complete union, upon the very best principles, has been effected among the Dioceses, including the whole Episcopal Church south of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. This union secures undoubted success, for within these limits the Episcopal Church contains a mass of intelligence, scholarship, refinement and wealth of which itself is scarcely aware—a mass, which if properly aroused, can give us an University, that shall leave us nothing to desire in the way of education for our sons—that shall revive that ancient scholarship which our fathers brought from Eton and Westminster, from Oxford and Cambridge, and which is fast dying out under the collegiate system of the present day.

"The Bishops of the Church who have inaugurated this movement think that they see before the Southern States a condition of things which makes this movement imperatively necessary if we would secure for our sons anything like a sound and finished education within our borders."

At the November meeting which he attended, it was decided to locate the University "upon the plateau of the Cumberland Mountains at a point called Sewanee. In settling this question we kept in view the objects which we had before us in establishing this University. We desired to make it not only the training school for our sons, but a social and literary centre for the South—a point at which the refined and intellectual people of our ten dioceses might assemble annually, and create an influence most beneficial not only to the students, but to the whole South. To bring this about, there must be added to the attractions of a parent's love, the additional ones of exquisite scenery and a delicious climate. And no where in the whole South are these requisites more perfectly combined than upon the Cumberland plateau."<sup>32</sup>

From January 13th to March 15th, 1859, Bishop Elliott was absent from his Diocese, seeking to procure an endowment for the University of the South. He and Bishop Polk canvassed the different dioceses, and addressed various groups. New Orleans was made the centre of the enterprise. Subscriptions amounting to more than a quarter of a million dollars were raised, and there was much enthusiasm.

In his address to the diocesan Convention, June 1st, 1859, Bishop Elliott noted that "the Church is advancing steadily within the Diocese."

"Our Diocese is one of those which gains nothing by immigration, and we have always followed the independent course of building up our Church by our own means. Every inch of

<sup>32</sup>*Journal, 36th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1858.*

ground which has been gained, has been valiantly fought for. We have been of the militant, but never of the mendicant Church. With the exception of some drafts upon the liberality of South Carolina, we have done everything which has been done from our own resources."

On the 19th of May, 1858, he had officiated in the Methodist church at Griffin; after the service, he had organised the parish of St. George's, Griffin. St. Paul's Free Chapel, Savannah, was consecrated by him, May 26th, 1859—"one of the most beautiful churches in the Diocese," containing about three hundred sittings, all free.<sup>33</sup>

In a sermon preached that year, the Bishop commented on the materialistic viewpoint of the age and the encroachments of business upon all of a man's thoughts and energies. He said:—

"During the week,—the busy, restless, excited week,—religion and the soul can find no place; and on the Sunday, even when the worn out body does not cry, with nature's cry, for rest and sleep, (the man of business) brings to the sanctuary of God a heart either unable to cast off its care, or else tired out with its tumultuous pulsations, and careless of everything save the reaction of quiet. It makes religion almost an unheeded topic; and the minister of Christ feels that he is pleading for men's souls either to a host engaged in the deadly strife of battle, face to face, and hand to hand; or else to that same host when, wearied and exhausted, it has no power left to fight, and is reposing only that it may recruit its strength for the morrow's strife!"

The tendency of the age was visible in the Church.

"We are fast coming to a sort of compact between the Church and men of business, that if the one will support the other, will give money freely for religious objects, the Church will keep their consciences and take care of their souls. Men seem ready to do everything and anything for Christianity, except to give it their thoughts and time."<sup>34</sup>

From December 15th, 1859 to March 1st, 1860, Bishop Elliott was engaged with Bishop Polk in matters connected with the establishment of the University. Much of that time was spent in preparing and submitting to the Board of Trustees the plan of the inner life of the University. At the diocesan Convention, held at Christ Church, Savannah, May 10th, 1860, the Bishop reported that he had spent a busy year, with visitations, confirmations, and the adjusting of a difference between the rector

<sup>33</sup>*Journal, 37 Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1859.*

<sup>34</sup>*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 118-119, 123.*



of St. Philip's, Atlanta, and the vestry. "Thus has ended one of the most laborious years I have ever spent, during which I have not been in my own home three months in all, and at the close of it, I can say that I have never seen such signs and tokens of prosperity as during these visitations. They are visible in the increased spirit and earnestness of our ministers, in the growing and large hearted liberality of our laity, in the steady influx of the very best people of the State into the Church, in the increased anxiety for our services, and in the demand for ministers everywhere exhibited."<sup>35</sup>

On the 10th of October, 1860, Bishop Elliott assisted, in the presence of a large assembly of bishops, clergymen, and laymen, in the laying of the cornerstone of the main building of the University of the South. The work was halted, however, because of the confusion of public affairs and the divisions of the dioceses; and the development of a southern university, launched on the tide of enthusiasm, was hindered by those unhappy differences which produced the War Between the States. In that unfortunate conflict, Bishop Elliott shared in the labours of a thousand others who suffered, bled, and died. "He placed his Church by the side of the State. He cheered and comforted his suffering, bleeding, fainting people with words of the deepest pathos and tenderness. He sent his sons to the battle, with his pure kiss on their brows and a father's blessing in their hearts. And when all was over—and all in vain—and the cause was lost, he bowed his head without a murmur to the will of his God, and turned to the new duties which lay before him with the hope and energy of an unflinching faith, and the calm dignity of an unconquered heart."<sup>36</sup>

Bishop Elliott joined with Bishop Polk in an address to the senior bishop of the seceding states, March 23rd, 1861, and recommended a meeting to determine their ecclesiastical relations with the dioceses from which their jurisdiction had been separated. "We have no quarrel with the divine organisation of the Church," said Bishop Elliott to his own Convention; "none with its faith, none with its worship, none with its discipline. But we must adjust anew our ecclesiastical relations. They have been disturbed if not destroyed by the disruption of the Union, and we should see to it at once, that nothing is done to compromise our own position or that of the Confederate States." The letter issued from University Place, Franklin County, Tennessee, March 23rd, and signed by Leonidas Polk and Stephen Elliott, contained the following language:—

"The rapid march of events, and the change which has taken place in our civil relations, seems to us, your brethren in

<sup>35</sup>*Journal, 38th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1860.*

<sup>36</sup>*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, p. xii.*

the Episcopate, to require an early consultation among the Dioceses of the Confederate States, for the purpose of considering their relations to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, of which they have so long been the equal and happy members.

"This necessity does not arise out of any dissension which has occurred within the Church itself, nor out of any dissatisfaction with either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church. We rejoice to record the fact that we are to-day, as Churchmen, as truly brethren as we have ever been, and that no deed has been done, nor word uttered which leaves a single wound ranking in our hearts. We are still one in faith, in purpose, and in hope. But political changes, forced upon us by a stern necessity, have occurred, which have placed our Diocese in a position requiring consultation as to our future Ecclesiastical relations. It is better that those relations should be arranged by the common consent of all the Dioceses within the Confederate States, than by the independent action of each Diocese. The one will probably lead to harmonious action, the other might produce inconvenient diversity.

"We propose to you, therefore, Rt. Rev. and Dear Brother, that you recommend to your Diocesan Convention, the appointment of three Clerical and three Lay Deputies, who, together with the Bishop of the Diocese shall be Delegates to meet an equal number of Delegates from each of the Dioceses within the Confederate States, at Montgomery, in the Diocese of Alabama, on the 3d day of July next, to consult upon such matters as may have arisen out of the change in our civil affairs.

"We have taken upon ourselves to address you this Circular because we happen to be together and are the senior Bishops of the Dioceses within the Confederate States."<sup>37</sup>

That Bishop Elliott realised the seriousness of the struggle between the states was evident in his address before the 39th Annual Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, held at Macon, May 9th, 1861.

"We meet, to-day, under circumstances very unlike any which have ever surrounded us since our connection as Bishop and people. Hitherto we have assembled as an Ecclesiastical Council, with no cares resting upon our hearts save those which concerned the Church of Christ. To-day we feel most painfully, in addition to these, the sorrow which arises from the severed ties of friendship and of country. Hitherto peace has ever smiled upon our meetings with her bright face of prosperity and security. To-day the whole land is resounding with the preparation for war—war with those who, until a few months since, were our countrymen and our brethren. Hitherto our Church has moved undisturbed through all the storms

<sup>37</sup>Elliott: *Address to 39th Convention, Diocese of Georgia*, pp. 10-11.

which have agitated the civil State. To-day a stern necessity is laid upon us to examine relations which we fondly hoped would be indestructible."

It is well to survey the Diocese of Georgia at the outset of the War, before the land was subjected to invasion and levy, before the man-power had been called into active service, before the country was impoverished and its resources reduced. The reports made to the 1861 Convention show the following facts:—

- a. Christ Church, Savannah—300 communicants—136 members of the Sunday-school. Donations to foreign missions, \$1,190; to diocesan missions, \$1,101.94; to domestic missions, \$260. Bishop Elliott was rector, but had an assistant minister.
- b. St. Paul's, Augusta—175 communicants—110 members of the Sunday-school.
- c. Christ Church, St. Simon's—44 communicants.
- d. Christ Church, Macon—127 communicants—169 members of the Sunday-school. This parish had recently instituted a church-home, with a matron or nurse to receive and take care of the sick and destitute, and receive orphan children. The matron "also visits the poor and afflicted, reporting them to the Pastor. She has gathered over twenty women, who meet once a week at the Home for instruction in needle and domestic work, and for religious teaching." The home maintains a free night school, sustained by three or four young men.
- e. Trinity Church, Columbus—163 communicants—167 members of the Sunday-school.
- f. St. John's, Savannah—181 communicants—97 members of the Sunday-school.
- g. St. Stephen's, Milledgeville—24 communicants.
- h. St. Andrew's, Darien—72 communicants.
- i. St. David's Church, Glynn county—8 communicants.
- j. St. James's, Marietta—82 communicants—109 members of the Sunday-school (including 30 negroes).
- k. Emmanuel Church, Athens—72 communicants—84 members of the Sunday-school.
- l. St. Peter's, Rome—60 communicants—40 members of the Sunday-school.
- m. St. Philip's, Atlanta—70 communicants—69 members of the Sunday-school.
- n. Zion Church, Talbotton—10 communicants.
- o. Church of the Advent, Madison—15 communicants—27 members of the Sunday-school (including 10 negroes).
- p. St. Paul's, Albany—72 communicants—70 members of the Sunday-school (including 36 negroes).
- q. Church of the Atonement, Augusta—46 communicants—89 members of the Sunday-school.



- r. Church of the Messiah, St. Mary's—25 communicants.
- s. Church of the Ascension, Cass county—4 communicants.
- t. Church of the Good Shepherd, Cave Springs—5 communicants.
- u. Ogeechee Mission—357 communicants—340 members of the Sunday-school (negroes).
- v. St. Stephen's, Savannah—78 communicants—60 members of the Sunday-school (negroes). The church building was at last finished. "The erection of our Church has been in deed and in truth a work of faith."
- w. St. Paul's Free Church, Savannah—39 communicants.
- x. St. Mark's, Brunswick—17 communicants.
- y. St. George's, Griffin—9 communicants.
- z. Grace Church, Gainesville—14 communicants.

During the year, there had been in the Diocese, 358 baptisms, 157 confirmations, 102 marriages, 134 burials; and there were 2,083 communicants listed, as well as 175 Sunday-school teachers and 1,743 pupils. The communion alms had amounted to \$2,252.85. There had been contributed to diocesan missions, \$2,142.62; to domestic missions, \$537.73; and to foreign missions, \$1,507.71. To other Church or charitable objects, \$15,550.58 had been donated.<sup>38</sup>

Bishop Elliott felt that his duty was to remain with his Diocese. In his address to the 1861 Convention, he said:—

"The animus of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, therefore, clearly is, that the Bishop shall go with his jurisdiction. He is a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, not because he is a Bishop of the Church Catholic, but because he is the Bishop of Maine, or of New York, or of New Jersey, as the case may be. When the jurisdiction therefore of a Bishop declares itself, in the exercise of its rightful sovereignty to be thenceforth and forever separated from the other jurisdictions which make up the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, it forces him necessarily into a like separation."<sup>39</sup>

A day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, appointed by the President of the Confederate States, was observed on the 28th of February, 1862. On that occasion, Bishop Elliott said, in a sermon preached in Christ Church, Savannah:—

"It may be that the bloody war in which we are engaged is necessary for our purification. War is a fearful scourge, as God's word plainly tells us; but it may sanctify as well as chasten, it may purge out our old dross, even though it be through the fires of affliction. . . . Had our separation been a

<sup>38</sup>*Journal, 39th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1861.*

<sup>39</sup>*Elliott: Address to 39th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, p. 7.*

peaceful one, we should have gone on as before, trusting in what are called the principles of American independence, expecting to find permanent prosperity under the old popular doctrines of the land. Our people had great faith in the form which freedom assumed in this land, because they attributed to it the unexampled physical prosperity which encompassed them. . . . (This war) will stir up all the energies of the people, which were stagnating under the effects of indolence and isolation. . . . And this people, thrown upon its own resources, will develop them by their own industry, and mingling through commerce with the world, will learn the value of virtues which they have hitherto permitted to slumber, will open their minds to perceive that other nations may teach them lessons not only of literature and science, but of freedom and government."<sup>40</sup>

From July 3rd to July 6th, 1861, Bishop Elliott had been in attendance upon the Council held at Montgomery, Alabama, by the representatives of the Diocese of the seceding states. It was decided to form a distinct ecclesiastical organisation. From October 16th to October 24th, another session was held, at which the Constitution and Canons of the Church in the Confederate States were adopted for ratification by the several dioceses.

On the 6th of March, 1862, the consecration of Richard Hooker Wilmer (1816-1900) took place. Bishop William Meade of Virginia, Bishop John Johns, and Bishop Elliott were the consecrators. The venerable Bishop of Virginia was too feeble to do more than pronounce the words of consecration. In the words of Bishop Elliott, "it was the last act of his life—his long and devoted life. He returned to his home from the Church, never to leave it again. In a week from the day upon which I bid him farewell, he was taken to his rest in the bosom of God."

In the Bishop's address to the Fortieth Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, there were several references to the War. The Diocese was much disrupted; clergyman were entering the service, and the work in several localities had been abandoned because of the shortage of men. The splendid activities among the negroes at Ogeechee was being upset by the inroads of the Federal forces. "What a miserable philanthropy it is, and how blinded to its own results, which can interfere with such a work as this, and think that it is doing God's service," exclaimed Bishop Elliott. "It makes us ashamed of ourselves as human creatures, when we perceive how prejudice and theory, and false speculation can lead us blindfold, as it does to the destruction of the sublimest work which can be done on earth, the bringing an ignorant and barbarous race into light and charity." There were examples of the refusal to retrench. In June, 1861, for example, Mrs. Edward E. Ford, wife of the rector of St. Paul's, Augusta, started a church school for young ladies, at Wood-

<sup>40</sup>Elliott: "New wine not to be put into old bottles," pp. 17-18.

stock, Floyd county, near Cave Springs. Her husband, incapacitated for parish duties, acted as domestic chaplain.

The 1862 Convention met in Atlanta—a town destined to feel the ravages of warfare. The Bishop's address began as follows:—

“Amid the tumult and confusion of war, with the din of battle all around us, knowing not what a day may bring forth, we meet together as the ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, and as the representatives of a kingdom which is not of this world. That which was only anticipated at our last meeting, has become stern reality, and the conflict of opinion, which had then dissevered the Union, has increased in intensity, and has dipped its foot in blood. Civil war—the most cruel of all wars—has already become familiar to us, and is leaving in its track hatred and mourning and desolation. Fighting, as we are, in absolute defence of our rights, our homes, and our freedom of thought and action, we have nothing to do but to struggle and bear, and if needs be, die upon our thresholds and before our altars. God alone can rule the hearts of the children of men, and we must bide his time, and be satisfied to wait until He shall choose to give us the inestimable blessing of peace. Meanwhile it is pleasant to be reminded, through an assemblage such as this, that there is an institution in the world which points to better things than we can see around us. The Church on earth is the forerunner of the Church triumphant, and its duties and trials, its cares and ordinances, all carry our hearts onward to the time when, having overturned, overturned, overturned on earth as long as shall be needful for His purposes, He shall come, whose right it is, and bring with Him righteousness and peace.”<sup>41</sup>

The First General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America was held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, beginning November 22nd, 1862. The Pastoral Letter, addressed “to the Clergy and Laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America,” was written by Bishop Elliott; and reveals his splendid mind and deep sincerity. In it, he explained the reason for the separation, the changes made, and the duty and mission of the Church.

“Seldom has any Council assembled in the Church of Christ under circumstances needing His presence more urgently than this which is now about to submit its conclusions to the judgment of the Universal Church. Forced by the Providence of God to separate ourselves from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States,—a Church with whose doctrine, discipline and worship we are in entire harmony, and with whose action, up to the time of that separation, we were abundantly satisfied—at a moment when civil strife had dipped

<sup>41</sup>*Journal, 40th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1862.*

its foot in blood, and cruel war was desolating our homes and firesides: we required a double measure of grace to preserve the accustomed moderation of the Church in the arrangement of our organic law, in the adjustment of our code of Canons, but above all, in the preservation, without change, of those rich treasures of doctrine and worship which have come to us enshrined in our Book of Common Prayer. Cut off likewise from all communication with our sister Churches of the world, we have been compelled to act without any interchange of opinion even with our Mother Church, and alone and unaided to arrange for ourselves the organization under which we should do our part in carrying on to their consummation the purposes of God in Christ Jesus."

Here followed an explanation of the changes made by the First General Council in the Constitution and Canons of the Church, so as to adapt the same to the Confederate Church. The Constitution would remain the same, except "that we have introduced into it a germ of expansion which was wanting in the old Constitution . . . in the permission which is granted to existing Dioceses to form themselves, by subdivision, into Provinces; and by this process gradually to reduce our immense Dioceses into Episcopal Sees, more like those which in primitive times, covered the territories of the Roman Empire," and promising "a more close and constant Episcopal supervision." The Canon Law, "altogether in its spirit, and almost in its letter, identical with that under which we have hitherto prospered," had been simplified, and made "more clear and plain;" but "no changes have been introduced which have altered either its tone or character." The Prayer Book has been "left untouched in every particular, save where a change of our civil government and the formation of a new nation have made alteration essentially requisite. Three words comprise all the amendment which has been deemed necessary in our present emergency, for we have felt unwilling, in the existing confusion of affairs, to lay rash hands upon a Book consecrated by the use of ages, and hallowed by associations the most sacred and precious. We give you back your Book of Common Prayer the same as you have entrusted it to us, believing that if it has slight defects, their removal had better be the gradual work of experience than the hasty action of a body convened almost upon the outskirts of a camp."

"Believing with a wonderful unanimity, that the Providence of God had guided our footsteps, and for His own inscrutable purposes had forced us into a separate organization, there has been nothing to embarrass us in the preliminary movements which have conducted us to our present position. With one mind and with one heart we have entered upon this blessed work; and we stand together this day a band of brothers, one

in faith, one in hope, one in charity. . . . We are all satisfied that we are walking in the path of duty, and that the light of God's countenance has been wonderfully lifted up upon us."

It was recognised by the Church of the Confederacy that a vast field lay before it. Many of the states were recognised as a missionary ground. "The population is sparse and scattered; the children of the Church are few and far between; the Priests of the Lord can reach them only after great labor and privation. Hitherto has their scanty subsistence been eked out from the common treasury of our united Church. Cut off from that recourse by our political action, in which they have heartily acquiesced, they turn to us and pray us to do at least as much for them as we have been accustomed to do for the Church from which they have been separated by a civil necessity. . . . The religious instruction of the negroes has been thrust upon us in such a wonderful manner, that we must be blind not to perceive that not only our spiritual but our national life is wrapped up in their welfare. With them we stand or fall; and God will not permit us to be separated in interest or in fortune."

"The time has come when the Church should press more urgently than she has hitherto done upon her laity, the solemn fact, that the slaves of the South are not merely so much property; but are a sacred trust committed to us, as a people, to be prepared for the work which God may have for them to do in the future. While under this tutelage He freely gives to us their labor, but expects us to give back to them that religious and moral instruction which is to elevate them in the scale of being. And while inculcating this truth, the Church must offer more freely her ministrations for their benefit and improvement. Her laity must set the example of readiness to fulfill their duty towards these people; and her clergy must strip themselves of pride and fastidiousness and indolence, and rush, with the zeal of martyrs, to this labor of love."

Likewise, said the Pastoral Letter, it was the duty of the Church to press upon slave-owners their obligation, as Christian men, to respect the sacred relations of family, so as not to separate parents and children, husbands and wives.

The Church should keep in mind its duty to maintain oversight of the camps, and minister the word and sacraments to the soldiers in field and hospital. The letter continued:—

"The most striking deficiency in the Church's work which we perceive in looking at the Church's life, is a lack of zeal in spreading the influences of the Church through her Services and Sacraments. Our ministry has become too local and se-



dentary, too well satisfied to sit down and do the work which it has undertaken to do, overlooking the fields white for the harvest which are spread out all around them, and which cannot be cultivated save through their agency. Every well-established congregation should consider itself as a centre of Missionary work, and should encourage its pastor to extend his usefulness beyond its own limits, and while he is a Priest to them, to be, in some measure, a Missionary to all about him."

The small amount of spiritual intercourse among the clergy brought forth an expression of regret. "Each man works in his own sphere: but for the most part he gives nothing to his brother clergyman, and receives nothing from him in return." Another cause for complaint was "the little spiritual help which is given to the Clergy by the Laity."

"But over and above all these special deficiencies, looms up that greatest of all deficiencies, the lack of the Holy Spirit in and with our Churches. Because of the degree to which spiritual influences have been abused in our land, we have been tempted to run into the other extreme, and to forget that we are living under what the Apostle calls the dispensation of the Spirit, and that the Church's work must derive all its power from His presence. . . . Let the Church and her Ministers always bear in mind, that the growth of the Church and the vitality of the Church are 'not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit,' saith the Lord."<sup>42</sup>

Truly the Pastoral Letter issued in the name of the First General Council of the Confederate Episcopal Church was a noble document.

The First Annual Council, which under the reorganization, took the place of the Forty-first Annual Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, met at the Church of the Atonement, in Augusta, May 7th, 1863. At that time, the outlook was encouraging for the South. General H. C. Wayne, Adjutant and Inspector General of the State of Georgia, attended the Council as a lay delegate from St. Stephen's, Milledgeville; and offered the following preamble and resolution, which were unanimously adopted:—

"Whereas, The Council of the Diocese recognizes the merciful hand of God in the successes attending the army of the Confederate States, during our struggle for Independence, for surely nothing beneath Divine intervention could have safely brought us thus far; to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, then, it becomes us as individuals, and as an Ecclesiastical Council, to render public thanks and praise for all His goodness, especially now, when the nation is rejoicing over recent glorious victories: Therefore:

<sup>42</sup>*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hancel, pp. 568-580.*

"Resolved, That the Bishop be requested to appoint some hour on to-morrow for the offering up of '*Te Deum Laudamus*,' and that the citizens of Augusta generally be invited, through the morning papers, to unite with us."

Thereupon Bishop Elliott appointed Friday, May 8th.

The Bishop remarked that "terrible as has been the war which has raged around us, Our Lord and Master has not permitted this portion of his heritage to be further devastated. . . . No Diocese, save Alabama, has suffered so little as we have done. While in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, many of their very strongest Parishes have passed into the hands of an unscrupulous foe, and have been utterly broken up, their people scattered, and their altars desecrated; while in Tennessee and Arkansas, the Church has been utterly destroyed, so that there ecclesiastical functions can no longer be performed, Alabama and Georgia have felt, in but a very slight degree, the pressure of the times."

Three of the Georgia parishes have been scattered, he said; and one church edifice—that of St. Mary's—desecrated; but no injury has been inflicted on any of the buildings, "and our people could return to them and worship in them as before, should peace be restored to us. The refugees from these parishes are sheltered in other folds, or have erected private altars in the wilderness."

Diocesan affairs were declared to be in a wholesome condition. Except the Church of the Advent, in Madison, all the organised parishes were supplied with clergymen. Two presbyters and one deacon were serving as chaplains in the service of the Confederacy. The missionaries had been paid in advance to August 1st next; many of the clergymen had received advances to meet higher prices. There was evidence of a steady growth in the Diocese, despite the warfare.

The Bishop had spent three days at Mrs. Ford's institution at Cave Springs. "This happy arrangement of Mrs. Ford's is not a school; it is a home in which the young can cultivate all the virtues of the heart, and receive the highest refinements of manners at the same time that they are taught and educated. It is a want which has been most happily supplied." (The Reverend Mr. Ford had passed away; he was buried December 28th, 1862, from his old parish, St. Paul's, Augusta).

The Ogeechee mission work among the negroes had suffered much. On March 29th, 1863, the Bishop had visited such portions of it as remained upon that river. "The plantations in that vicinity have been so much exposed, especially since the new plan of extermination has been commenced, that most of the planters have very judiciously removed their negroes from the neighborhood of temptation and have trans-

ferred their labor to points in the interior, which have been periodically and faithfully visited by the missionary (Rev. Wm. C. Williams).” From those that remained to carry on the rice tillage and to take care of the property, Mr. Williams had presented fifteen candidates for confirmation.

“I could not but conjecture, as I performed this service within sight of the blockading fleet, under command of a Churchman, whom I had heard addressing our last General Convention, in Richmond, upon the subject of our Foreign Missions, which was probably doing God’s service most acceptably, the Church in the South, which was laboring to train the children of Africa in the way of righteousness and truth, or he who was sending marauding expeditions up every river and creek of the South to interrupt those efforts and to demoralize the subjects of those Missions.”

On the 13th of April, 1863, Bishop Elliott held services at Roswell, in the Presbyterian church. There were five or six communicants in that place, under the care of the Marietta priest.

As Chairman of the Prayer Book Committee of the Church in the Confederate States, Bishop Elliott caused the publication of a mission service for the use of the Church. It was impossible to reprint the whole Prayer Book, “as there was an entire lack of material for that purpose, and we had not yet determined what that Prayer Book should be.” This mission service was a republication with additions of a pamphlet issued by the Diocese of New York; and contained Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, arranged “so as to make it easy for one unacquainted with the service to follow it at once.” Prayers and various portions of the book adapted to the Army and Navy were included, also copious selections of Psalms in metre and certain hymns.

The Church branched out into new fields, notwithstanding the tension of the times. Services were held in Tray Chapel, fifteen miles from Clarksville; in Roswell, Greensboro, Kingston, and LaGrange, besides the regularly organised places. The Reverend Richard Johnson, formerly of St. Philip’s, Atlanta, was Chaplain of the First South Carolina Volunteer Cavalry, of General Hampton’s Brigade; the Reverend Samuel J. Pinkerton, formerly of St. Andrew’s, Darien, was Chaplain to the hospitals in Atlanta, under the appointment of President Jefferson Davis; the Reverend Jaquelin M. Meredith was Chaplain in the Confederate States Army, in General A. P. Hill’s division of General Stonewall Jackson’s corps. The last named reported that he took up a collection of one hundred dollars from the officers of the 47th Regiment, which he applied to the benefit of the several Bible and Tract Societies,

from which he had been receiving supplies for the regiment. Said Bishop Elliott:—

“The efficiency and comfort of the Chaplains has been much aided by the kind efforts of our late noble and much beloved Christian General Jackson. He took personal interest in our Chaplain’s meetings, and was very anxious to obtain Chaplains for every one of his regiments, only half of which were supplied last week; besides procuring the passage of a law, giving to Chaplains forage for a horse, which is essential to usefulness.”<sup>43</sup>

On the 21st of May, 1863, Bishop Elliott began services with the Army of the West, encamped in Tennessee. He spent about two weeks in ministering to the soldiers, preaching several times and baptising some of the officers and men. He conducted religious services for those under the command of General Bragg and his lieutenant-generals; for General Maney, General Manigault, General Hardee, General Wood, General Lucius Polk, and General Liddell. He confirmed General Bragg.

Bishop Elliott visited Greensboro, on the 20th of September, 1863, and confirmed three in the Presbyterian church. On Monday, September 21st, he organised a parish there under the name of the Church of the Redeemer. On October 10th, he visited Griffin, and officiated in a temporary building used ordinarily as a school-room; there he confirmed nine. On October 14th, he held services in the Presbyterian church of LaGrange. April 20th, 1864, he officiated in the Methodist church at Dalton, where the army of General Johnston had its headquarters. “After sermon the Rev. C. T. Quintard presented a class of eleven persons for confirmation, among whom were a lieutenant general and three generals of the Confederate army.” Bishop Elliott consecrated the new St. Luke’s Church, in Atlanta on the 22nd of April, 1864. The rector of St. Philip’s had given his hearty consent to the formation of a new parish; and a church-like edifice had been rapidly built, capable of seating about four hundred. The cost was about \$12,000. It was the Reverend Charles Todd Quintard (1824-1898; later Bishop of Tennessee) who had been ordered to Atlanta on duty by General Joseph E. Johnston, and who recognised this opportunity and decided to start the new parish. On April 27th, Bishop Elliott held services in the chapel of the Female College at Americus.

Compared with the sufferings of several of the dioceses, the Bishop could say in 1864 that the trials of the Church in Georgia had been as nothing. “While they have been devastated, our Diocese has continued almost unharmed. While their Clergy and Laity have been scattered, and are now finding refuge among their Christian friends, ours have

<sup>43</sup>*Journal, 1st Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1863.*

been permitted to continue in the enjoyment of home and of Church. While many of their Church edifices have been defiled and desecrated, ours have not yet been polluted by the tread of ungodly men."

"Our Church work during the past Ecclesiastical year has been very abundant. The solemn aspect of the times, the constant presence of danger, the load of anxiety which has pressed upon the heart, have all worked together to lead many to humble themselves at the foot of Jesus's Cross, and to offer themselves to his service. In no year since the commencement of my Episcopate have I confirmed so many persons, nor admitted to the Communion of the Church so many young and active men, preparing, I trust, for future usefulness in her work upon earth."<sup>44</sup>

Later the same year, when the tide had turned against the South, the Bishop preached on the text: "In your patience possess ye your souls" (St. Luke XXI., 19). "What is our discipline, if everything is to happen just as we think it should?" he asked. "If no crosses are to meet us by the way; if no troubles are to harass our paths; if no afflictions are to cast their shadows upon our households; if no desolation is to sweep athwart the track of our country's prosperity? What call is there for the exercise of our patience, if that patience is never to be tried either by man or God? . . . Calamity, trouble, affliction, perplexity, are all necessary to bring out the beauties of grace, just as a dark background throws into prominent relief the beauties of nature and of art."

"We must be patient; and in our patience we must possess our souls. We must possess them in the sight of all men, for the uses of society. We must keep up the superiority of reason; must be sober, calm, earnest, resolute; must not permit passion to overcome us, nor fear to unnerve us, nor grief to overwhelm us, nor the loss of wordly things to cast us down. We are contending for great things; and we must be great ourselves, great especially in the possession of our souls. . . . In such a conflict as this, passion is of no moment. It only disfigures the scene of action. Patience, endurance, self-control, self-possession, are our qualities for this world. But above all should every one of us, in our patience, see to the salvation of our souls,—to that higher possession which makes them ours forever; ours not only while we are struggling here, but ours while we are resting from all conflicts in the grave."<sup>45</sup>

When the next Council met, the War was over; the South had surrendered. On May 11th, 1865, there was a session held at St. Paul's

<sup>44</sup>*Journal, Second Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1864.*

<sup>45</sup>*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 491, 494.*



Church, Albany. At that time, the Diocese was in the greatest confusion; communications were broken, and all money values had ceased. The sermon was preached by the Reverend T. Jefferson Staley, of Marshallville, on the text:—"Our light affliction which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" (II. Corinthians iv., 17). Only three clergymen were present beside Bishop Elliott, and only six lay delegates. But at that time, Calvary Church, Americus, was received in union with the Council of the Diocese. An adjourned session was convened at Athens, in Emmanuel Church, August 10th.

Up to the summer of 1864, the Diocese had been subjected to very little loss because of the War, either in church buildings or in property. Soon afterwards, however, the advance of the Federal army began; Cave Springs, Rome, Marietta, and Atlanta were subjected to its devastations. The church edifices at three of those places were more or less despoiled; the new St. Luke's Church, Atlanta, was burned to the ground; St. Philip's, Atlanta, was converted into a bowling alley. The parsonages at Marietta and Atlanta were entirely consumed, and a fort was erected upon the site of the latter. St. Paul's, the free church of Savannah, was used for some purpose connected with military occupation. Members of the congregations and the rectors suffered severely. "In Rome, Marietta, and Atlanta, their treatment was especially harsh. The Rev. Messrs. Benedict and Hunt"—Samuel Benedict, rector of St. James's, Marietta, and John J. Hunt, who was residing in that town—"were first imprisoned, with circumstances of great severity, and then banished from their homes. Dr. Quintard and Mr. Pinkerton"—the Reverend Samuel J. Pinkerton, chaplain to the hospitals in Atlanta—"taking warning from their fate, left Atlanta, both of them devoting themselves to army service, while Mr. Freeman"—the Reverend Andrew F. Freeman, rector of St. Philip's, Atlanta—"having been deprived of his home, took refuge in Cincinnati, with his brother. . . . What our people have suffered in feeling and property cannot be estimated. They have been scattered far and wide over the surface of the State, exiles from their homes; have witnessed the destruction of their homesteads; have mourned over parents, and husbands, and sons, slain in defence of their friends; have been subjected to poverty and privation and in some instances absolute martyrdom."

In his address at Athens, at the adjourned session, Bishop Elliott said:—

"The tumultuous tide of events has rolled very contrary to our wishes and our anticipations; has been freighted with a heavy burden of sorrow, and suffering, and death, and has brought us together this day with trouble all around us, with

cruel anxieties pressing upon us, with grave perplexities entangling us, with very little joy or hope save such as may spring from a divine source. . . . We will rejoice, however dark His dispensations may appear, and no man shall deprive us of our joy, that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. Believing most surely that he maketh all things work together for good to them that love him, we will acquiesce submissively in his doings, 'standing' meanwhile, 'upon our watch-tower, and watching to see what he will say to us, and what we shall answer when we are reproved.'"

The year before, Bishop Elliott had visited the school at Montpelier for the first time since 1853. On May 15th, 1864, he confirmed in St. Luke's parish, Montpelier, eleven young ladies—pupils at the school kept there by the Reverend J. T. Pryse. He was glad to note that the school had been preserved so well by the various hands through which it had passed since its sale.

On June 15th, 1864, he had learned of the death of his beloved friend and brother in the episcopate, Leonidas Polk, who had been killed by a cannon shot. Bishop Polk, who had become a general in the Confederate Army, was buried in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Augusta, on the 29th of June. Bishop Elliott preached the funeral sermon. "I buried on that day the most intimate friend of my life, one with whom I had held sweet council (sic) for more than twenty years, and whose nobility of soul and purity of virtue and piety of heart were never excelled upon earth. Many may judge him, but few ever equaled him."

On the 24th of July, 1864, the Bishop confirmed at New Hope Church, Ogeechee Mission, 54 negroes. But at the Council the following year, he reported that "since that time, the sweep of General Sherman's Army has dispersed this noble mission, and what will be its future fate, God only knows. Mr. Williams, upon the approach of the Federal forces, left the mission, with my consent, and has since been doing missionary work at Clarksville, Georgia. In his separation from these people, he carries with him the satisfaction of knowing that he has labored most faithfully among them in his Master's service, and has sacrificed many things which men hold dear in this world. Whether he will ever minister to these people again is a problem which cannot, at present, be solved."

In August, 1864, the Bishop had visited Sparta, where he found a group of churchmen, for whom he held services in the Baptist church.

He was in Savannah, when General Sherman's army formally invested the city on the land side, December 11th, 1864. "I remained with my congregation until the 20th of the month, then I evacuated the city with General Hardee's Army, my position as Bishop of the Diocese

requiring me to be at liberty, so as to communicate with my Clergy, and to move in and out among my people as necessity should require."

Seventeen days after Lee's surrender, April 26th, the Bishop held services at Marshallville in the Baptist church. The following day he officiated at Oglethorpe, Macon county, in the Methodist church.

At the 1865 diocesan Council, Bishop Elliott recommended reunion with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America.

"Our Diocese has been left, by the results of the war, in a state of much depression. Churches have, in many cases, to be repaired, in some instances to be rebuilt. Our Clergymen are, for the time, without salaries, their people being scattered or else impoverished. Many of the funds which we had been collecting, with great pains, have been entirely lost or very much impaired; and worse than all, our agricultural industry, which was the basis of our prosperity, is, for the present, at a stand-still. All these things are against us, but I trust that there is still left to us a true and living faith, which will enable us to rise superior to these ills of fortune. . . . We must now, more than ever before, cultivate patience, endurance, economy, liberality, industry. We must not be ashamed of our condition, nor unwilling to live according to our circumstances. Above all, let us not live upon other people. . . .

"I would suggest to those Parishes whose Churches need repairs, to set about the work themselves, and to do everything in the plainest manner, and upon the most economical principles. God does not look at the ornamentation of a building. He looks at the hearts which are throbbing within that building. A lectern, a table, chairs carried to the house of God, are all that are necessary where the walls are standing. Congregational singing can supply the place of the organ and the choir. Where the edifice itself has been destroyed, some vacant room can be procured where worship may be conducted, or camps may be constructed for the purpose."

The Bishop closed his address to the first post-war Council with this touching incident:—

"Upon my late visit to Atlanta, I visited the ruins of our Churches, and as I entered the fort that was placed by the Federal army upon the site of the parsonage of St. Philip's, I spied a page of printed paper, which had been wafted by the wind into its enclosure. I picked it up and my eyes fell directly upon these words: 'The office of a Bishop has descended from generation to generation from the Apostles' times.' It went directly to my heart as a ray of unspeakable comfort; it was as a voice from the midst of earthly ruin, saying unto me, and through me to the Church, 'Be not dismayed; the Church shall arise from her ashes and put on the beautiful garments of

her holiness, and no matter what man may do unto her, she shall be indestructible in her ministry of truth. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever.'"<sup>46</sup>

The first sermon preached by Bishop Elliott on his return to Savannah after the War was delivered before an humiliated and impoverished people, broken in heart and spirit. He urged his hearers to accept what seemed God's way, without protest or rebellious feelings. "We are not placed here upon earth to direct the purposes of God," he said. "All we can do is to act our part as seems to us right; to follow that path of duty, which opens itself before us."

"One of the hardest trials of our faith is that which is enjoined upon us by God in our text: to 'be still,' when He has laid the heavy hand of chastisement upon us, and 'know that He is God.' It is so much more natural, when our prosperity has been blighted, and days of darkness have blotted out the sunshine of our hearts and homes, to look at the secondary causes of our misfortunes and be angry with them, rather than see the rod in the hand of God, and then submit in quietness to the will of Him who has dispensed it. . . .

"To find any comfort in the consideration of human affairs, we must ever acknowledge a present Deity. Without Him, all is chaos, and all would be despair. Things would seem to go on without any rule, and folly and vice and wickedness to ride triumphant over the efforts of man. But when we soar above the sensible and visible, and see Him seated upon His throne of righteousness and of mercy, holding in His hands the complicated threads of human action, and guiding and governing all wills and powers, as He thinks best for His creatures, we bow in humility and with thanksgiving: in humility, that we should presume to murmur when He is ruling over us; with thanksgiving, that the world has not been left to itself, but that He who has foreordained all things, is driving them on to their rightful consummation. So long as we fasten our thoughts upon secondary causes, upon human agents, upon earthly instruments, our most dangerous passions are kept alive: our anger, our wrath, our bitterness, our hatred, our uncharitableness;—the very feelings which inspired men have commanded us, as Christians, to put aside. It is not until God is permitted to fill our hearts, and to become—what He is—the Ruling Spirit of all worldly movements, and to shut out by His glorious Presence the human instruments through whom He works and punishes, that these unchristian passions can be soothed and quelled."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup>*Journal, Third Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1865.*

<sup>47</sup>*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 477-486.*

On the 12th of February, 1866, Bishop Elliott addressed the Georgia Historical Society, of which he had become President. He lamented the fact that the literary spirit which once animated Savannah had almost entirely died out through lack of cultivation. Forty years ago, when he visited the town, he was brought in contact with its cleverest men, and found a high standard of literary excellence and of classical attainment. The same deterioration had occurred everywhere—in Richmond, in Charleston, in the whole country with the possible exception of Boston. When he first remembered Charleston distinctly, "the whole community was daily aglow with the wit of the young men about town, who threw off their fancies through the newspapers and fly sheets, sure of finding an appreciative audience."

"Democratic institutions and levelling principles have done their work, and save where some great literary institution with proper endowments to make it independent of popular favor, has stayed the flood, everything, which deserves the name of literature, has been swept away before the all absorbing interest of politics, of business and of practical life. Science has flourished and advanced, because science is necessary to commerce, to navigation, and to the production of wealth, but literature, which is only elegant and refining, has retired into private life, content to adorn the circles of home, but too sensitive to brave the contemptuous and sneering spirit of utilitarianism."

His address was an earnest plea for a revival of the literary spirit. The monthly meetings of the Georgia Historical Society might be the means of raising the tone of conversation and elevating literary standards. "We may meet month after month and do as we are doing now, and none of us will gain any thing from our meetings of either knowledge or impulse. No new topics are introduced; no new books lie upon our table; nothing comes before us which connects us with the world across the water, that great centre of all that is beautiful in art, or grand in science, or rich in literature. We are in a condition of isolation and stagnation, and the waters must be stirred. We may not be able by our efforts to do all we might desire, but we can do something. We may not create a literature, but we may at least place what literature there is within the reach of those round us."<sup>48</sup>

The next diocesan Council was held at St. John's, Savannah, May 10th, 1866. Bishop Elliott stated that he had been busy corresponding with the bishops, clergy, and laymen of the late Confederacy and of the United States of America regarding reunion. In January, he had given notice to the Presiding Bishop of the Church of the readiness of the

<sup>48</sup>Elliott: *Reply to a resolution of the Georgia Historical Society*, pp. 7, 10.



Church in Georgia to resume relations. He had been much affected by the spirit shown at the General Convention in Philadelphia. "Grandly and sublimely did (the Church) bear herself in the sight of the world. Instead of anathemas, there were warm greetings of renewed friendship and tears of reconciled love. Instead of excommunications, there was hearty welcome, and assurances of rejoicing hearts over the healing of the wounds which had been produced by political strife. Everything was done that a divine charity could dictate, and the action of the Convention satisfied every one that there was no longer any ground for a continued separation." There is a tradition in the Elliott family, evidently based on fact, that at the first General Convention of the Episcopal Church held after the War between the States, Stephen Elliott had sat down in the back of the House of Bishops, not moving forward to his appointed seat; he was not sure that he would receive a fraternal welcome from his brother bishops. But the far-sighted and broad-minded Presiding Bishop of the Church, the Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, recognised Bishop Elliott, and went in person to extend him his affectionate greetings and urged him to take his rightful place in the hall. The spirit which Bishop Hopkins and other northern bishops showed on that occasion was beautiful and friendly; and we may be sure that the breach between the contending sections of the country would have been healed with little delay if such an attitude had pervaded the political order in the years which followed that unfortunate strife.

The Clarksville parish was in a very depressed condition, because of the removal of the people and the inability of the others to occupy their summer retreats. In October, 1865, the Bishop had resumed his duties as rector of Christ Church, Savannah, where the Reverend Charles H. Coley had remained faithful to his post, during his absence. "I found the Parish suffering and depressed, but united in spirit, and determined, by God's help, to maintain the services of the Church in their integrity, and to continue to be, what Christ Church has ever been, the nursing mother of the Churches of the Diocese." On January 14th, 1866, he had gone to St. Philip's, Atlanta, where he performed an "office for expiation and illustration of a church desecrated or prophaned," the same being taken from the Irish Prayer Book. St. Philip's had been "horribly desecrated during the occupation of the city by the Federal army." St. James's, Marietta, had suffered very much during the War; the building was in sad condition, but the parishioners were putting their shoulder to the work of restoration. Milledgeville had also gone through the horrors of war, having been captured on Easter Day; its parishioners had experienced great privations both in person and property.

"The war has agitated society to its depths—has connected men together in a way in which they have never been connected—has vanquished many old prejudices—has tried and tested every thing to the bottom, and has satisfied men that the systems in which they have hitherto rested are unsound and unsatisfactory. The consequence is, that many thoughtful and truthful minds are looking for light and for knowledge—are stretching out their hands, if haply they may find some rock on which to plant their feet. Now is the Church's time for action. . . . There is no time for sloth and indulgence—no time for a folding of the arms and doing only what is set for us to do. We must up and be working—pressing forward boldly and fearlessly, and honoring Christ in his Church before men."

Bishop Elliott, like many other noble-minded men of the South, refused to admit that the outcome of the War proved the accusations of the abolitionists. The emancipation of the slaves, he said, "has placed the Diocese of Georgia under no new obligations; it has rather freed her from a fearful responsibility. The Church in our Diocese needed no instruction from abroad upon her duty to the slaves within her border. She had always considered slavery as a trust committed to her by God. . . . Slavery was no institution of her making. Georgia protested against the introduction into her limits again and again, but it was thrust upon her by English and New England cupidity. When thus forced upon her, without her desire, its descent from father to son, and its rapid increase made no difference in its guilt, if guilt there was. . . . The duty of the Church was to act under certain circumstances in which she found herself—circumstances not created by herself, but permitted to exist for the trial of her faith and zeal. And wonderfully has she performed her work. Never, in the history of the world, has there been such a rapid and effective missionary work as the Christian Church has performed in this land in connection with slavery. For we must remember that the slaves when brought here, up to a period as late as 1808, were the same savages as our Missionaries are now combating with, to very little effect, upon the coast of Africa; were the same savages as are cutting each other's throats, day after day, and perpetrating enormities, which disgrace humanity, upon their own soil, even in the very sight of missionary operations. And yet, within the period of two centuries, there has been made out of these savages a Christian people, having a clear discernment of right and wrong, understanding very distinctly the system of our religion, having educated teachers of their own color and their own race, gentle, kind and, until meddled with, faithful and affectionate."<sup>40</sup>

In his address to the Annual Council of the Diocese, in 1866, Bishop

<sup>40</sup>*Journal, Fourth Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1866, p. 25.*

Elliott gave an eloquent defence of the attitude of the Church towards slavery. He spoke of the large proportion of negro communicants. In large cities, the negroes possessed churches of their own; in the rural districts they were visited by missionaries appointed specially for their benefit, or they mingled in the same religious instruction with their owners, "eating of the same consecrated bread and drinking of the same consecrated wine."

"Their behavior during the long fierce war which has now terminated is the sublimest vindication of the institution of slavery, as it existed among us, which could have been offered to the world. With years of preliminary agitation about the rights of the slaves and the cruelty and barbarism of the masters—with hordes of deceitful fanatics scattered through the Southern country, some in the guise of teachers, some of pedlars, some of book agents, some of mechanics, and all alike tampering with the slaves—with a war which required the absence of all the able-bodied and the warlike from home—with a proclamation of emancipation sounded in their ears as early as 1862, and summoning them virtually to strike for their rights—with large armies of those who called themselves their friends traversing the country and thundering at their very doors—these people never once lifted their hands or their voices voluntarily against their owners, but with nobody to coerce and restrain them save weak women and infirm men and boys too young for military purposes, they remained quiet, docile, industrious, obedient, exhibiting in no case, that I have ever heard of, insubordination or disorder. Any cruelty they may have since exhibited they have learned from other teaching than ours—any barbarism into which they may have since lapsed, they have fallen into after they had passed from under our influence. Where in the world's history has there been a case like this of forbearance and quietness where an inferior race has been oppressed by a superior, and had the means given it of vengeance? Our own times furnish us two instances in fearful contrast—the one of the ferocity of the French in their terrible overthrow of the Church, the monarchy and the aristocracy, and that of the negroes of St. Domingo, who have furnished to this age a name for every thing inhuman and barbarous. One of two things is therefore clear, either that these people suffered no oppression worth the name, or that slavery has produced Christian virtues, through its teaching and discipline, of the most rare and striking character."

The Bishop averred that the Christian Church in the South was vindicated from the obloquy which had been poured upon it, as if it had been winking at a barbarous and unchristian system, and doing nothing to ameliorate it.

"No people have ever labored more faithfully, more devotedly, with more self-denial, than have Southern Christians to do their best for the slaves committed to their trust. Very many have I known who have given up their lives for their religious instruction—many who have impoverished themselves that their slaves might be comfortable or free. Almost every Minister for a half century past has devoted some of his time to these poorer members of his flock, and very many more would have kneeled at our altars, had they not preferred a more exciting worship and a more enthusiastic exhibition of their feelings than we allowed. I say without any fear of right-ful contradiction, that if a slave did not receive religious instruction it was because he did not care about it, or because he was in some remote position, where the whites were as badly off as himself."

In meeting the situation, said Bishop Elliott, there is no need of changing the present system of instruction, or calling in any foreign help. "The Church in Georgia has always taught the colored race so far as the number of her Clergymen and the rivalry of the other denominations would permit her. We must simply carry on the same plan in the future. We have always had Sunday schools for them; let us continue the same. We have always welcomed them to our Churches and altars; let us continue the same. We have always permitted them to organize churches for themselves—they have been free as air upon this point; let us continue the same."

"None understand the colored race as well as we do—none care for it as much as we do—none have its confidence as fully as we have. My sincere conviction is that if any future good or blessing is to come for these people, it must be of home growth; it must be the continuation of the same kindly feeling between the races which has heretofore existed. Every person imported from abroad to instruct or teach these people is an influence, unintentionally, perhaps, but really, widening the breach between the races. This work must be done by ourselves—done faithfully, earnestly, and as in the sight of God. Love must go along with it; gratitude for their past services; memories of our infancy and childhood; thoughts of the glory which will accrue to us, when we shall lead these people, once our servants, but not now as servants, but above servants, as brethren beloved, and present them to Christ as our offering of repentance for what we may have failed to fulfill, in the past, of our trust.

"But it may be asked—Do you regret the abolition of slavery? For myself and my race, No! I rather rejoice in it; but for them, most deeply. I sincerely believe it the greatest calamity which could have befallen them; the heaviest stroke which has been struck against religious advancement in this land. I would not, if I could, have it restored for any benefit

to me or mine or my countrymen. I have met nobody who would. But for them I see no future in this country. Avarice and cupidity and interest will do for their extinction what they have always done for an unprotected inferior race. Poverty, disease, intemperance will follow in their train and do the rest. I say these things from no ill feeling against the race, for God is my witness, I have loved them and do love them, and have labored for them all my life, but because at this moment I think it my duty to put these opinions upon record, that the past may be vindicated and the future take none by surprise."<sup>50</sup>

The General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the (late) Confederate States of America was convened at St. Paul's Church, Augusta, November 8th, 1866. Bishop Elliott presided; he celebrated the Holy Communion, assisted by Bishop Wilmer of Alabama. The dioceses of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi were represented. The Committee on Conference presented a report, declaring that the necessity which caused an independent branch of the Church Catholic to be formed no longer existed. "The spirit of charity which prevailed in the proceedings of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, at its late session in Philadelphia, has warmly commended itself to the hearts of the Council." It was advised that there be reunion.

1866 was a confused and anxious year in the South; the people, impoverished, expatriated, and humiliated, hardly knew where to turn. But Bishop Elliott's voice always carried hope and assurance. "Let us not look at the clouds," he said in one of his sermons, "but at Him who rideth upon the clouds. Let us not fear the darkness, but enter into it,—if it be our duty,—knowing that God often dwelleth in the thick darkness." He counselled resignation to God's will, and the throwing aside of all bitterness and resentment. In the last sermon preached by him in Savannah, he said:—

"There are some, I know, who see and acknowledge an overruling Providence; who can perceive an order in the midst of apparent confusion; who can trace a divine plan through all the complications of human affairs. To such there can be no fear. In the hearts of these children of God there can be no distress. They can see God in the whirlwind, and in the storm; and they can trust to Him who is forever working to bring in their redemption. . . . When the nations are distressed and perplexed, when men's hearts are failing them for fear, when the sea and the waves are roaring; then may God's children look up and lift up their heads, for they may rest assured that their redemption draweth nigh,—that their salvation is nearer than when they believed."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. 26-29.

<sup>51</sup>*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel*, p. 527.



The last Sunday sermon of his life was preached December 16th, 1866. In it he said:—

“Jesus Christ must be the Finisher as well as the Author of our Faith; must perfect that in glory which He has begun in grace! If you need faith, look unto Jesus. You can do all things through Christ strengthening you! If you need mercy, look unto Jesus. Mercy and Truth came by Him. Keep your eye fixed upon Him, and all else will prove easy! Weights will fall off, and not tarry to be cast away. Unbelief will wither under the brightness of His light, and shrink away abashed before His glory! Keep your eye fixed steadily upon Him, for He is the brightness of His Father’s glory, and the express image of His Person; and ‘we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord,’ shall be ‘changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.’”<sup>52</sup>

Bishop Elliott’s last sermon was preached at Montpelier, the scene of his hopes and efforts, December 20th, the day before his death. How appropriate was the text! “For the Son of Man is as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch. . . .” (St. Mark xiii., 34-47). “These are no times for sleeping,” he said,—

“The sorrows of the time, which have overwhelmed and made torpid so many hearts, are sent by God to prepare you for coming evil. Of all times, the present calls for watchfulness and not for apathy! Arouse yourselves, children of God; and while you humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, forget not that you are Christ’s servants, bound to do His work in the Church militant upon earth, and to advance His kingdom wherever He may spread the banner of the Cross. Instead of permitting suffering to overcome your faith, let it rather lead you on to perfection. Instead of fainting in the day of adversity, gird up your loins, and be sober, and strong in the Lord. Instead of sleeping because the world is trouble and agitated, rather stand upon your watch-tower, and await in faith and patience the coming of your Master.”

From Montpelier, Bishop Elliott returned to Savannah. He had just taken his last meal, when suddenly he fell over lifeless (December 21st, 1866). He was sixty years of age. His death was a great shock; and tributes were paid to him as a preacher, a scholar, and a man of God. For more than twenty-five years he had been Bishop of Georgia; and under his direction and personal oversight, the infant Diocese had made rapid strides. The Convention recorded its high appreciation of his remarkable qualifications for the episcopal office: “his profound ac-

<sup>52</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. 552-553.

quaintance with human and divine learning; his pre-eminent power as a preacher of the Gospel of the grace of God; his keen insight into the motives and instincts of men; his tact and ability in administering his Diocese; his watchfulness and tender sympathy for all the flock committed to his care; his interest in the welfare of our colored population; his careful avoidance of party issues and all extremes in doctrine, discipline and worship; and his cautious endeavors to pursue the quiet, conservative paths trodden by the wisest and most honored Fathers of the American Church."<sup>53</sup>

Bishop Elliott is an example of foresight and perseverance, of broad sympathy, of great consecration, of a tolerant and charitable spirit, and of a buoyant nature. His biographer Hanckel was impressed by his exceedingly happy temper, "which so often brought the healing of life to the sad and wounded spirits of his people." He was recognised as a preacher of unusual ability; and he was a remarkably rapid and fluent writer. "The manuscript leaves of sermon after sermon of his may be turned over without detecting the slightest sign of erasure or interlineation, and with an evenness of hand as perfect as if written all at one sitting, and with one penful of ink. Certain cardinal words, such as Heart, Life, Love, and Heaven, are invariably spelt with a capital letter, as if to give them that prominence to the eye which they hold in the mind."<sup>54</sup>

But it is as the planter of the Church in the newer sections of Georgia that he has left his most lasting testimonial. Much of the state was practically a frontier when Bishop Elliott began his episcopate; the memory of the Indian struggles was fresh. Much of the population was crude and illiterate, and sharp lines were drawn between the inhabitants of the old towns with their wealth and social conventions and the people who were gradually filling up the northern and western portions of Georgia. But the good Bishop stood as a mediator; he felt that the Church had a mission to high and low, to the humblest slave as well as to the patrician; and he responded to every call. At the beginning of the War, at least twenty-six congregations existed, some in a flourishing condition.

Nor should Bishop Elliott's influence in the cause of education be overlooked. The ill-starred venture at Montpelier illustrates how high he aimed; some forty years after his death, there were old ladies in Georgia who attributed their loyalty to the Church and their ideals of culture to the training received at the Institute. The Bishop was always interested in the planting of schools and the spread of literary activity. The University of the South rightly regards him as a founder.

<sup>53</sup>*Op. cit.* p. x.

<sup>54</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

Bishop Elliott was twice married. His first wife was Mary Barnwell, a distant cousin. The following children were born of this union:—

- (1) Stephen. He was married to a Florida lady.
- (2) Mary Elizabeth. She was married to William Carmichael. His plantation was "Deptford," just outside Savannah.

The Bishop's second wife was Charlotte Bull Barnwell, of Beaufort, South Carolina, the daughter of John Gibbes Barnwell. Their children were:—

- (3) Robert Woodward Barnwell (Elliott), first Missionary Bishop of Texas; born, Beaufort, South Carolina, August 16th, 1840; died, Sewanee, Tennessee, August 23rd, 1887. He was married to his third cousin, Caroline Elliott, of Savannah.
- (4) John Barnwell, a physician. He was married to Harriott Lucas Huger.
- (5) Esther Habersham. She was married to the Reverend Francis Asbury Shoup, formerly Brigadier General of the Confederate Army; afterwards a member of the faculty of the University of the South.
- (6) Robert Habersham, civil engineer; for years consulting engineer of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company. Died 1937.
- (7) Sarah Bull Barnwell, authoress; died, August, 1928. She wrote the following books: "The Felmeres," "John Paget," "Jerry," a life of Sam Houston, and other novels, beside short-stories.
- (8) Charlotte Barnwell. She was married to Charles McDonald Puckette.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY.

##### COHEN, SOLOMON.

Eulogy on the life and character of the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., bishop of the diocese of Georgia, and president of the Georgia Historical Society. By Hon. Solomon Cohen. Written and Published at the Request of the Georgia Historical Society.

Savannah: Purse & Son, printers, MDCCCLXVII. (4o. pp. 18).

##### FAIRBANKS, GEORGE R.

History of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee, from its founding by the Southern Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church in 1857 to the year 1905. By George R. Fairbanks, M. A., Un. Coll., Trin. Coll. One of its founders and long-time Trustee. Still connected with the Board of Trustees and its Executive Committees.

Jacksonville, Fla.: The H. & W. B. Drew Company 1905. (Pp. xv., 403, 1; illus.).

HANCKEL, THOMAS M., *editor*.

Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, D. D., late Bishop of Georgia. With a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, Esq.

New York: Published by Pott and Amory. 1867. (Frontispiece; pp. xxxv., 594. 21½ cm.).

JACKSON, HENRY R.

Eulogy on the late Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, bishop of Georgia, and president of the Georgia Historical Society, on 12th February, 1867, its anniversary, by Henry R. Jackson.

Savannah: Purse & Son, Printers. 1867. (Pp. 22).

MEADE, WILLIAM.

Sermon delivered at the consecration of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, D. D. for the diocese of Georgia. In Christ's Church, Savannah, February 28th, 1841. By the Right Rev. William Meade, D. D., assistant bishop of Virginia.

With an appendix, on the rule of faith; in which the opinions of the Oxford divines, and others agreeing with them, on the subject of tradition, are considered; and some of the consequences thereof set forth.

Washington: printed by J. and G. S. Gideon. 1841. (Pp. 143).

WHITE, GEORGE.

Historical collections of Georgia: containing the most interesting facts, traditions, biographical sketches, anecdotes, etc. relating to the history and antiquities, from its first settlement to the present time. Compiled from original records and official documents. Illustrated by nearly one hundred engravings of public buildings, relics of antiquity, historic localities, natural scenery, portraits of distinguished men, etc., etc. (SEAL) By the Rev. George White, M. A., author of the "Statistics of Georgia."

New-York: Pudney & Russell, publishers, No. 79 John-street. 1854. (9¼ in. pp. xiv., 688; illus.).

WHITE, GEORGE.

Statistics of the state of Georgia: including an account of its Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History; together with a particular description of each county, notices of the manners and customs of its aboriginal tribes, and a correct map of the state. By George White.

Savannah: W. Thorne Williams. 1849. (8¾ in. pp. 624, 77; map).

WILMER, RICHARD HOOKER.

In Memoriam. A sermon in commemoration of the life and labors of the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D. (late bishop of Georgia), delivered in Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., on Sunday, January 27, 1867, by the Rt. Rev. Richard H. Wilmer, D. D., bishop of Alabama. Published by request of the vestry.

Mobile: Printed by Farrow & Dennett, No. 3 North Water Street. 1867. (Pp. 29).

ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

Address of the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., to the thirty-ninth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the diocese of Georgia.

Savannah: Power Press of John M. Cooper & Company. 1861. (Pp. 19. 22¼ cm.).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

Christian Association: Address of the Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D. Bishop of Georgia, before the Young Men's Christian Association, of Savannah, in the Independent Presbyterian Church, January 22d, 1856. Published by the Association.

Savannah, Ga.: printed at the Savannah Journal Job Office. 1856. (80. pp. 16).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

Funeral services at the burial of the Right Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., together with the sermon delivered in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Ga., on June 29, 1864: being the feast of St. Peter the Apostle.

They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy.—Psalm CXXVI, 6.

Columbia, S. C. Printed by Evans & Cogswell, 1864. (Pp. 28).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

Gideon's water-lappers. A sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, On Friday, the 8th day of April, 1864. The day set apart by the congress of the Confederate States as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer. (Published by request).

"And the Lord said unto Gideon, By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand."—Judges VII: v. 7.

Macon, Ga.: Burke, Boykin & Company. 1864. (8¼ in. pp. 22).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

A high civilization the moral duty of Georgians. A discourse delivered before the Georgia Historical Society, on the occasion of its fifth anniversary, on Monday, 12th. February, 1844. By the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, Jr.

Savannah: published by a resolution of the Society. 1844. (Pp. 21).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

The little foxes spoiling the vines: a sermon preached before the Convention of the Episcopal Church of Georgia, on the first Friday in May, the day set apart by legislative enactment and executive proclamation, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer By Stephen Elliott, Jr., D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Georgia. Published by request of the Convention.

Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1843. (Pp. 16).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

"New wine not to be put into old bottles." A sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, On Friday, February 28th, 1862, Being the Day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, Appointed by the President of the Confederate States, by the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, and Bishop of the Diocese of Georgia.

"And no man putteth new wine into old bottles."—St. Luke V.: 27.

Savannah: Steam power press of John M. Cooper & Co. 1862. (23 cm. pp. 18).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

A reply to a resolution of the Georgia Historical Society, read before the Society at its anniversary meeting, February 12th, 1866, by Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, president of the Society. Published at the request of the Society.

Savannah, Ga., Purse and Son, printers. 1866. (80. pp. 13).



## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

Sermon preached at the consecration of St. John's Church, Savannah, on Saturday, May 7th, 1853, by Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., bishop of the Diocese. Published by order of the Convention.

Savannah: W. Thorne Williams. 1853. (Pp. [55]-63).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

Sermon preached in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, on Saturday, October 26th, 1844, on occasion of the consecration of William J. Boone, M. D., missionary bishop to China; George W. Freeman, D. D., missionary bishop of Arkansas, having provisional charge of Texas; and Horatio Southgate, A. M., missionary bishop in the dependencies of the Sultan of Turkey. By the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, Jr., D. D., bishop of the Diocese of Georgia.

New York: published for the Board of Missions, by Daniel Dana Jr. 1844. (Pp. 15).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

"So He giveth His beloved sleep."

The farewell message to his clergy: the address delivered at the funeral, by the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., bishop of Georgia; and obituary notices of the Rt. Rev. Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, D. D., late bishop of Alabama. "The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

Montgomery: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., steam printers. 1861. (Pp. 40).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

The sword of the Lord in the land, and proud boasting our besetting sin as a nation: two sermons preached in Christ Church and St. John's, Savannah, on the 2d and 3d Sundays in Lent, in connexion with the awful catastrophe on board the Princeton. By the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, Jr., D. D. Published at the request of the vestry of St. John's. Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1844. (24 cm. Pp. 24).

## ELLIOTT, STEPHEN.

Working by the Holy Ghost, the only mode of gathering with Christ: being the Annual Sermon, before the bishops, clergy and laity, constituting the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, preached in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, Wednesday Evening, June 16, 1841. By the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., Bishop of Georgia.

New-York: Published for the Board of Missions, at the missionary rooms, No. 281 Broadway. 1841. (Pp. 24).

*(Journals of the Diocese of Georgia).*

Journal of the proceedings of the First Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Georgia: held in St. Paul's Church, in the City of Augusta, from the 24th to the 28th of February, 1823. Together with the constitution of the diocese.

Augusta: printed at the Chronicle and Advertiser office. 1823. (Pp. 20).

Journal of the proceedings of the seventeenth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, On the 15th and 16th April, 1839.

Columbus: printed at the Georgia Argus Office. 1839. (Pp. 27).

Journal of the proceedings of the eighteenth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Georgia, Held in the Parish of Grace Church, Clarksville, Habersham County. On the 4th and 5th May, 1840.

Columbus: Enquirer Printing Office. 1840. (Pp. 25).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, in the City of Macon, on the 3d and 4th of May, 1841.

Columbus: Printed at the Enquirer Office. M.DCCC.XLI. (Pp. 31).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Trinity Church, Columbus, Commencing on the 5th May, 1842.

Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1842. (Pp. 45).

Journal of the Proceedings of the twenty-first annual convention, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Savannah, Commencing on the 4th May, 1842.

Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1843. (Pp. 45).

Journal of the proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Commencing on the 2d of May, 1844.

Athens: Clayton & Flint, 1844. (Pp. 47).

Journal of the proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Stephen's Church, Milledgeville, Commencing on the 8th of May, 1845.

Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1845. (Pp. 36).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Emmanuel Church, Athens, Ga., Commencing on the 7th May, 1846.

Marietta: Printed at the Advocate Office. 1846. (Pp. 34).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., Commencing on the 6th day of May, 1847.

Marietta: Printed at the Advocate Office. 1847. (Pp. 40).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia: held in St. James' Church, Marietta, Ga., commencing on the 4th day of May, 1848.

Marietta: Printed at the Advocate Office. 1848. (Pp. 40).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Macon, Georgia, Commencing on the 10th day of May, 1849.

Marietta, Georgia: printed at the Advocate Office. 1849. (Pp. 32).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Zion Church, Talbotton, commencing on the 9th May, 1850.

Marietta, Ga.: Hunt & Campbell, printers. 1850. (Pp. 48).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, In the Diocese of Georgia, held in Trinity Church, Columbus, Commencing on the 8th May, 1851.

Columbus, Ga. Printed at the office of the Columbus Times. 1851. (Pp. 60).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, commencing May 6th, 1852.

Macon, Ga.: Printed by Benjamin F. Griffin, No. 10, Cotton Avenue. 1852. (Pp. 60).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Savannah, Commencing May 5th, 1853.

Savannah: W. Thorne Williams. 1853. (Pp. 63).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Stephen's Church, Milledgeville, commencing May 5th, 1854.

Macon, Ga.: printed by Benjamin F. Griffin, No. 10, Cotton Avenue. 1854. (Pp. 55).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Macon, commencing May 10, 1855.

Macon, Ga., printed by B. F. Griffin. 1855. (Pp. 63).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia. Held in St. James' Church, Marietta, commencing May 8, 1856.

Savannah, Ga.: George N. Nichols, Job and Book Printer, 1856. (Pp. 60).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Trinity Church, Columbus, commencing May 7, 1857.

Savannah: George N. Nichols, printer, 1857. (Pp. 60).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia. Held in St. John's Church, Savannah, commencing May 6th, 1858.

Savannah: George N. Nichols, Printer. 1858. (Pp. 72).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, commencing June 1st, 1859.

Savannah, Georgia: Power Press of George N. Nichols, Corner of Bay and Drayton streets—Up Stairs. 1859. (Pp. 76).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Savannah, commencing May 10, 1860.

Savannah: Geo. N. Nichols, Printer. 1860. (Pp. 74).

Journal of the thirty-ninth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese, of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Macon, Commencing May 9, 1861.

Savannah: Steam press of John M. Cooper & Co. 1861. (Pp. 87).

Journal of the Fortieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in St. Philip's Church, Atlanta, Commencing May 8th, 1862.

Savannah: Steam Press of John M. Cooper & Co. 1862. (Pp. 55, 4).

Journal of the First Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in the Church of the Atonement, Augusta, commencing May 7th, 1863.

Savannah: Power Press of E. J. Purse. 1863. (Pp. 68).

Journal of the Second Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Trinity Church, Columbus, Ga., commencing May 5th, 1864.

Savannah: Power Press of E. J. Purse. 1864. (Pp. 66, 2).

Journal of the Third Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in St. Paul's Church, Albany, commencing May 11, 1865, and Emmanuel Church, Athens, commencing August 10, 1865.

Savannah: Purse & Son, Printers. (Pp. 42).

Journal of the fourth annual council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in St. John's Church, Savannah, commencing May 10th, 1866.

Savannah: Purse & Son, Printers. 1866. (Pp. 77).

Journal of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Macon, commencing May 9th, 1867.

Savannah: Purse & Son, printers. 1867. (Pp. 82).

*(The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States).*

Proceedings of a Meeting of Bishops, Clergymen, and Laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, At Montgomery, Alabama, On the 3d, 4th, 5th, & 6th of July, 1861.

Montgomery: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., steam printers and binders, 1861. (Pp. 28).

Journal of proceedings of an adjourned convention of bishops, clergymen and laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Confederate States of America, Held in Christ Church, Columbia, South Carolina, From Oct. 16th to Oct. 20th, inclusive, in the year of our Lord 1861.

Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Job Printing Office. 1861. (Pp. 45, 1).

Proposed constitution/digest of revised canons for the government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, reported to the adjourned convention of bishops, clergymen and laymen of said Church, held in Christ Church, Columbia, S. C., in October, 1861.

Columbia, S. C.: Steam power-press of R. W. Gibbes. 1861. (Pp. 61).

A calendar of the days and daily lessons of the year 1862, and a catalogue of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Confederate States of America.

Montgomery: Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1861. (Pp. 24).

Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Ga. From Nov. 12th to Nov. 22d, inclusive, in the year of our Lord, 1862.

With an appendix, containing the constitution, a digest of the canons, a list of the clergy, and of the officers of the General Council, etc.

Augusta, Ga.: Steam Press of Chronicle & Sentinel. 1863. (Pp. 216).

Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, and Digest of the Canons adopted in General Council, in Augusta, Georgia, November, 1862.

Augusta, Ga.: Steam Power Press Chronicle & Sentinel. 1863. (Pp. 59, viii., 2).

Pastoral letter from the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the clergy and laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America. Delivered before the general council, in S. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia, Saturday, Nov. 22, 1862. (Pp. 16).

## BEGINNINGS IN JAPAN

*By John Cole McKim*

**I**N 1549 Francis Xavier reached Japan. In 1859 Channing Moore Williams, a priest of the American Episcopal Mission in China, landed at Nagasaki.

Within the space of two generations after the earlier landing a large proportion of the Japanese people, variously given at from ten to fifty per cent, were accounted Christians. It seems to me quite possible that the number may have reached a fifth of the population. The number was never computed after the manner of our modern communicant and membership lists because of the workings of the feudal and family systems, and because such lists had not been thought of in mediaeval Europe. Furthermore the population of Japan was not exactly known.

It is rather more than two generations since the landing of Mr. Williams, and today the communion which Xavier's successor Jesuits represent, claims about 1/400 of the population, while that of Williams numbers 1/2000, and the total number claimed for all who profess and call themselves Christians amounts to little more than 1/200 of the people of Japan proper.

For both periods it is claimed that the influence of Christianity has been felt far beyond the lines of formal membership, and of the earlier period this is obviously true, since the influence survived the suppression of Christianity and is discernible today; but it is difficult to disentangle religious from secular phenomena because in both periods European merchants, sailors, diplomatists and others were in contact with Japan, and because the efforts of the missionaries themselves have had purely secular consequences. With regard to the later period it should be borne in mind that where statistical results have been meagre the temptation to claim intangible successes becomes very strong, and that what are claimed as religious and moral triumphs by some, (e. g. the spread of contraceptive information and "the extension of the privilege of divorce to women")<sup>1</sup> would not be so regarded by others.

<sup>1</sup>RETHINKING MISSIONS: A LAYMAN'S INQUIRY AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS.



As regards the earlier period it must be remembered:

(1) That the missionaries were largely united as regards the philosophical and sociological consequences of their religion and that their work was largely in the hands of the Society of Jesus, whose members, yielding to none in religious zeal, were distinguished for their wide learning and for their understanding of social and political problems. Such unanimity as to why, what and how, was bound to give their work far-reaching consequences.

(2) That the Japan in which Xavier landed was divided into fiefs, (he sometimes called them "kingdoms"), enjoying a high degree of autonomy. Hence, although Christians probably never exceeded twenty per cent of the population, some of these daimiates became completely or dominantly Christian, and it was thus possible to develop the Christian State *in petto* in a Japanese setting.<sup>2</sup> This model was in many respects copied by non-Christian lords, and, with the growth of centralization, by the Shogunate itself.

Thus, by the time of the persecution, Christianity had become indigenous to parts of Japan and its teachings were being discussed throughout the Empire. Some of this discussion, particularly where the "parties of the other part" were Confucian scholars, was upon a rather high intellectual level, and there developed a tendency on the part of these scholars to claim for Confucianism all that was held to be good in Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

This must in some part account for the superiority of Japanese to Chinese Confucianism,—a superiority which shows itself in an emphasis upon the mutuality of obligation in social piety as contrasted with Chinese insistence upon the unilateral obligation of the subordinate. In China the social structure tended to correspond to a very onesided relationship between "parent and child". In Japan it came to bear more resemblance to that between "elder brother and younger brother", and the whole country became, in the words of a Seventeenth Century traveller, "a verie school of civilitie". This is of course more true to the spirit of Confucius himself: but its recovery dates from this period, and it seems quite clear that it was the Christian controversy which inspired the re-consideration of his teachings that led to it.

A great deal has been said about the suppression of Christianity during the second fifth of the Seventeenth Century. This is natural as that persecution was probably the most drastic, systematic, and certainly the most effective, in all history. But missionary writings about this have often tended to obscure the fact that this suppression was not

<sup>2</sup>cf. *THE CHRISTIAN DAIMYOS* by P. Abbe Steichen.

<sup>3</sup>cf. my article *JAPANESE REFUTATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE SHOGUNATE* in *THE AMERICAN CHURCH MONTHLY* of March, 1936.

immediately inspired by religious antipathy. It was due to a dread of the predatory power of the West, as represented by the King of Spain who in 1680 became king of Portugal as well, and thus personified in the Far East the whole might of Europe. For this reason the Shogun, Iyeyasu, closed the country to Europeans, and forbade community of religion with them.

However misguided<sup>4</sup> as regards this last detail, this was intended to be a purely defensive measure, so that, while categorical allegiance to Christianity was sternly suppressed, there was no corresponding opposition to the spread of various moral and social ideas; especially in so far as these were adapted to their own teachings by Confucian scholars, and to a lesser extent by the leaders of the several Shinto-Buddhist syncretisms.

For such reasons as these the Japanese of the late Nineteenth Century were found, once the prohibitions had been withdrawn, to be more understanding and protective of Christian teaching than the Chinese had ever been.

During the centuries of suppression Roman Catholic missionaries maintained a precarious and sporadic foothold in the Loo Choo (Ryu Kyu) Islands, whose "king" though tributary to Japan enjoyed a large measure of autonomy. In the middle years of the Nineteenth Century, a Protestant scholar, Dr. Bettleheim, also resided there, who, being guaranteed a protection which secured the safety of his life and goods, made valuable linguistic and other studies, but was severely obstructive of evangelistic work.

Several other missionaries, including some of our own, wished to visit Loo Choo: but they made the mistake of applying to the Chinese authorities for permission: and these authorities, well knowing that their writ did not run in those islands, saved their faces by withholding it.<sup>5</sup>

Possibly the first Anglican service on Japanese soil was a funeral conducted by the Reverend George Jones, Chaplain of the U. S. S.

<sup>4</sup>*The Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans, with mother houses in Manila, founded in 1575, a constant reminder of the subjugation of the nearby Philippines, were partly responsible for this. In 1596, a Spanish galleon was stranded on the Japanese coast and its captain, wishing to overawe the officers who boarded it, boasted of the power of his king, who he said first sent missionaries to win the people, and then troops to complete their subjugation. As a matter of fact, the conquistadores had always preceded the missionaries. Furthermore, the dominant missionary influence in Japan was that of Jesuits who preached Christianity without any thought of extending foreign domination, and being mostly Portuguese would not in any case have worked for that of Spain.*

<sup>5</sup>*Lieutenant Whiting, U. S. N., about 1859, wrote of the Chinese Empire as extending from the shores of the Caspian Sea to the isles of the Pacific and northward to the Arctic regions. Chinese claims were more grandiose even than this. Britain had been specifically described as a tributary nation in 1792 when Lord Macartney, first minister to China, was induced to perform the Kowtow. Throughout the Nineteenth Century and at the time of the Boxer trouble in 1900, all action taken by the Western Powers was described as "rebellion".*

Mississippi, on March 9, 1854. Preaching aboard ship on the Second Sunday in Lent (March 12), he said, "During the past week, my brethren, we have been called upon to lay in the grave the body of one of our number . . .". He spoke appreciatively of the Samurai guard of honour which had attended the service; extolled the work of the Sixteenth Century missionaries; lamented the cruelty of the persecution which brought their labours to an end " . . . and now . . . on Thursday last . . . the solemn and impressive formula of the Episcopal Church . . ."

On November 30, 1855, the Reverend Channing Moore Williams and the Reverend John Liggins, "recently graduated from the Seminary at Alexandria", sailed from New York in the ship *Oneida* and, on June 28, 1856, arrived at Shanghai,—their unusually long voyage having caused great anxiety.

A week later, Mr. Williams was able to set himself this schedule:—Rise at 5:30; Devotions to 7:30; (Breakfast); Study Chinese 8-12; Other Studies 12-1:30; With Chinese Teacher 1:30-2:30; Dinner, &c., 2:30-3:30; Study Chinese 3:30-5; Outdoor Exercise; "The Evening is spent in reading, writing and conversation".

By the fifth of November he had committed to memory in Chinese the Creed, The Lord's Prayer, The Ten Commandments, My Duty towards God and My Duty towards My Neighbour. On the twentieth of December he read daily prayers at the opening of the Boys' School. He was priested by Bishop Boone on the eleventh of January, 1857, (Mr. Liggins was too ill to be ordained at the same time), and was immediately able to be of some help on a trip into the interior.

Early in 1858 Bishop Boone, then on leave in America, received a letter from an American naval officer, dated at "Hakodadi", Japan, 3 October, 1857. He speaks of Mr. Townsend Harris' landing as Consul General.<sup>6</sup> He describes the treaty arranged and explains: "A missionary in Japan, having right of residence, has not . . . the right . . . to preach the gospel to the people. He would not be interrupted in his own worship. . . . The community of Americans" could meet for a variety of purposes, including that of "public worship . . . It is death to a Japanese to become a Christian. . . . The climate is like our own: there is no more healthy region on earth. . . . The religion of Buddha is . . . prevalent . . . but the religion of the country is Sinto".

The Reverend Mr. Syle had gone to China with the beginning of our work there in 1844. He was a very zealous man, though often in

<sup>6</sup>Mr. Harris is, of course, our famous first Minister to Japan. Owing however to some doubt about Chinese pretensions (cf. preceding footnote) he was at first Consul-General under Mr. Reed, Minister at Peking, who is spoken of as "Commissioner" in Japan.

a rather negative way;—tending to think of his calling in terms of anti-Buddhism, anti-Confucianism, anti-Romanism, and so on. He told of many a smart brush with the Papists and enjoyed the satisfaction of thinking that he came off best in all of them. Unlike Bishop Boone, who had a very level head, he was one of the many missionaries who were duped into supporting the Tai Ping rebellion during its earlier stages.<sup>7</sup>

About 1856 he began to develop a chronic sore throat and the health of his wife began to fail. In 1858 he thought that a voyage to Japan might do him good, and he arrived at Nagasaki on September 20 of that year, at the beginning of an almost perfect Japanese autumn.

He found the chaplain of the U. S. S. Powhatan teaching English to a few Samurai who were to be trained as interpreters. He persuaded the United States Commissioner, (Mr. Reed, Minister to China who had come over to Nagasaki in the same ship with Mr. Syle), to ask the Governor of Nagasaki if he would not like to have someone residing there permanently to train interpreters in English. The official replied, of course through an interpreter,

"Yes, and I will provide a good house for him."

"What arrangements for wife and children?"

"Plenty of room for them."<sup>8</sup>

"The Consul-General, Mr. Harris," wrote Mr. Syle, "is an Episcopalian from New York, and maintains divine service at his Consulate, a Buddhist temple, every morning."

<sup>7</sup>The Tai Ping rebellion began in South China about 1850 and was finally suppressed by "Chinese Gordon" in 1864. At the beginning its leaders assured the more gullible of their foreign friends that this was a pure revolt against heathen Manchu rule. In 1853 a German Protestant missionary wrote the London Times that China was on the verge of accepting Protestant Christianity. Mr. Syle and others thought at about this time that China might be completely Christianized and the Ten Commandments made the law of the land, within two years. Doubts began to torture them long before the two years were over. The Tai Ping seemed to be everywhere successful and established themselves in Nankin. But their horrible excesses, once they felt themselves secure, and their "adaptations" of "Protestant Christianity", (one of their leaders was appointed to be the Holy Christ), were disillusioning.

<sup>8</sup>This conversation with the Governor of Nagasaki becomes poignantly touching in view of Mrs. Syle's death a few months later, and of Mr. Syle's own breakdown and return home to die in 1861. It must, however, have seemed inadvisable to Bishop Boone to recommend Mr. Syle to be head of the Japan Mission, and of course it would have been very trying to him and perplexing to the Japanese to send him as a subordinate of the much younger Williams. Furthermore, while it was plainly on the cards that Japan would be further opened, the principal purpose of anticipating this was to provide time for acquiring a knowledge of the language in order to take prompt advantage of opportunities so soon as they might be offered. Mr. Syle had not been one of the best Chinese scholars in Shanghai; and he was rather too old to be set at learning yet another and even more difficult language. St. Francis Xavier had spoken of Japanese as having been invented by a "conciliabule" of devils in order to obstruct the preaching of the Faith; and Bishop Williams,—for they were both merry men,—may have agreed with him in this. But it is to be feared that Mr. Syle would have denounced it as being just another Romanish superstition!

In March, 1859, the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions announced that under a solemn conviction of duty they had "determined to open a Mission in the Empire of Japan". This new mission must always be "in intimate connexion" with that to China and "for the present at least" under its Bishop.

Messrs. Williams and Liggins were chosen to be the first missionaries.

In sparing Mr. Williams Bishop Boone contributed the best of his younger priests to the new mission. It was also, though not very proximately, possible that Mr. Liggins would be of some use to it. He had been advised to take a trip to Japan for his health, was already there when Mr. Williams arrived, July 1, 1859, to open the mission, and had to leave before it was a year old.

The Governor's promise of a good house was faithfully kept. A spacious building, part of a temple group high above the street level upon a stone embankment, was fitted with smoke-stacks and other conveniences, so that, as Mr. Williams was not too tall for six-foot lintels, these were perhaps the most comfortable quarters which he ever occupied in Japan. Left alone there after Mr. Liggins' departure in 1860, he asked that two colleagues be sent him,—another priest and a medical man.

Meanwhile, he applied himself to the study of the language. He had landed at Nagasaki almost exactly three years after his arrival in China; but he could not hope to repeat the feat of reciting the Creed, etc., on Guy Fawkes' Day of the same year, as there had been no predecessors to supply him with translations and the old Sixteenth Century versions, of which some had been secretly kept, had not yet come to light.<sup>9</sup>

A medical man named Schmidt joined him in January, 1861, but returned to America the following year.

At about this time, Mr. Harris, still Consul-General, was asked: "Is it possible that the friendly bearing will be continued?"

"The Japanese will scrupulously observe all their treaty obligations and any breach of good understanding will arise from the aggressions of foreigners":—a prediction which has been verified many times since.

Mr. Harris did not in 1860 think that the anti-Christian edicts

<sup>9</sup>Within two years, however, he had the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments rendered into dignified Japanese, and by the beginning of 1862 was hard at work on the rest of the Catechism. Mr. Williams was the reverse of stupid: but no amount of native ability could have enabled him to do this without the severest labor and most rigorous discipline. Modern arrivals, with all the facilities for study, such as grammars, dictionaries, primers and trained teachers which were then entirely wanting, take three years to prepare for a very elementary language test.



would ever again be rigidly enforced: though they could not then be repealed, as the Shogunate, because of its having entered into treaty relations with foreign powers, had already excited more opposition than as it turned out it could survive; and its opponents were arousing every possible prejudice against it.

The keeping up of our missionary organization during the War Between the States was an extraordinarily creditable piece of work. Naturally, there could be no expansion: but Mr. Williams made good use of his time, mastering Japanese and giving a good deal of Christian teaching, but not baptizing any natives.<sup>10</sup> He also acted as pastor to the growing Anglo-American congregation in Nagasaki.

Bishop Boone died at Shanghai July 17, 1864. It does not appear to be of record that he had ever carried out a visitation in Japan during the five years which had elapsed since the extension of his jurisdiction over that country. At the General Convention of 1865 Mr. Williams, who had passed his thirty-sixth birthday on July 18 of that year, was chosen to succeed him as Bishop of China and Japan. He was not the choice of the Board: Bishop Boone had spoken well of him, had chosen him to head the Japan mission, and he was the only priest in existence who was acquainted with the languages and circumstances of both the countries assigned to his jurisdiction. A great many people still thought of these countries as extending from the Caspian Sea to somewhere in the Pacific Ocean: but the Missionary District was not really very extensive, since for practical purposes it included Shanghai with a small hinterland and Nagasaki with none at all.

Bishop Williams was consecrated October 3, 1866, and, before returning to his see, attended the first Lambeth Conference.<sup>11</sup> He arrived

<sup>10</sup>Like Bishop Ken, he was "stern with himself, with others mild" and was extraordinarily concerned for the comfort and safety of those with whom he had to do. His position in Nagasaki as a protege of the Governor was such as must draw attention to all his acts. Consequently, though he prepared a number of catechumens and stood ready to baptize them in emergency, he shrank from exposing them to persecution and possible death. Roman Catholics, though they displayed a similar prudence upon occasion, administered a number of baptisms. Their considerable Japanese following and the consequent rapidity with which they were able to train a few catechists enabled them to do this without attracting too much attention from an officialdom often inclined to turn a blind eye. Even so, some of their followers suffered severely. A Presbyterian missionary baptized a man in Yokohama in 1864.

<sup>11</sup>About 1850 Bishop Boone had approached the Bishop of Victoria, (Hong Kong), with suggestions looking to the division of jurisdiction between them. This was sympathetically received by the Bishop of Victoria, and was referred by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury who could not see his way to endorse it. As a matter of fact, I do not think that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Victoria was ever defined as extending beyond the borders of the Crown Colony, but he had made occasional visitations to the English congregation at Shanghai. Victoria is listed as a colonial and not as a missionary diocese. The first English Bishop in Japan (Poole), arrived in 1883, and died in 1885. His successor, (Bickersteth: 1886-1897), was strong for Anglican unity in Japan. It was his co-operation with Bishop Williams, in the face of some C. M. S. opposition, that made the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai possible. Generally, the S. P. G. supported him in this.

in China in January, 1868, and, after making visitations and performing episcopal functions there, proceeded to Japan, where he regularly resided, visiting China only as occasion required. He preferred to live in Japan and hoped to make it his life work: but this course would in any case have seemed necessary and wise. He was the only missionary in Japan. He was noticeably junior to some of the clergy in China, and this in the Far East is a consideration of some importance. He would not have wished to force the retirement of senior priests, and it was therefore wise for him to confine himself when in China to necessary episcopal functions, letting a committee carry on the administrative work while he lived in Japan.

It is also probable that the work in China had developed tendencies and fallen into grooves with which he was not in sympathy but with which he did not feel himself competent to interfere. He, therefore, constantly urged the election of a separate bishop for China.

Bishop Williams was a cheerful man, so that it must have been very deep feeling indeed that caused him to write from Shanghai on January 15, 1868, with reference to Japan: "It comes with painful, crushing force and sinking sadness of heart that . . . I have been compelled to return entirely alone."

He incessantly urged the sending out of other priests and a medical man,—not a specialist but one well versed in the different departments of his profession. In view of the numbers of missionaries who were sent to other fields it was difficult for Bishop Williams to understand the failure to appoint any to Japan. It was believed at this time in America that life was less secure in Japan than in China, and no doubt references by the Foreign Committee to the "persecution of so-called Christians (*sc* Roman Catholics) at Nagasaki" helped to strengthen this belief. As regards missionaries it had been wholly erroneous from the moment of their admittance under treaty. What the Japanese prohibited they prevented: what they allowed they protected.<sup>12</sup> It is

<sup>12</sup>The southern Daimyo, whose territories surrounded Nagasaki, were hostile to foreigners, largely as a part of their desire to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate which had admitted them. Nagasaki itself however was an imperial port, and hence directly under the Shogunate so long as it administered the Emperor's temporal power. For a number of years foreigners were not allowed to reside outside these ports where they had full protection. The abolition of the Shogunate did not affect them, as local officials continued to govern them in the Emperor's name, as they had done before. The persecution referred to was the deportation from the vicinity of Nagasaki of native Christians. Owing to the conditions of Japanese life it was a severe hardship for them to be taken from their own villages and scattered among strangers; and this was exacerbated by the deportation taking place in winter, so that it resulted in many deaths of the aged and infirm. Between 1868 when the deportations began, and 1873 when the exiles were allowed to return, 2,000 out of 8,000 are said to have died, whereas the normal mortality would not have exceeded 1,700. The statement is often given an extra-sensational look by making no reference to the normal death-rate; at this time about 35/1000.

possible also that the Board was not in complete sympathy with Bishop Williams.<sup>13</sup>

He did, however, have a friend and admirer in the Reverend Joshua Kimber, who became a part-time secretary for Foreign Missions in 1867 while yet a deacon, thus beginning a connexion, characterized on his part by unflagging zeal and devotion, which lasted for half a century.

The Board sent Bishop Williams no one until 1873. Perhaps the "unmarried men who will remain single for at least three years", for whom the Bishop asked, were hard to find: but the Reverend A. R. Morris came out as a self-supporting missionary in 1871 and remained single for the rest of his life.

In 1869 the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived at Nagasaki, and in 1870 Bishop Williams moved to Osaka, the treaty port<sup>14</sup> nearest to the old imperial capital at Kyoto.

Here, with Mr. Morris' help, he opened a school for boys. He was immediately impressed with the widespread literacy of Japan as contrasted with China. "There seems to be hardly a boy in the country who cannot read and write."<sup>15</sup>

Corporal punishment, then much employed in Britain and America,

<sup>13</sup>In the early days of the D. & F. Missionary Society, there had been a sort of understanding that the Domestic side should be "High" and the Foreign "Low". The arrangement was complicated after the War Between the States by the setting up of yet another committee, for missions to "Freedmen". This was not "High" and it was, afterwards, amalgamated with the Domestic Committee. It would be difficult to place Bishop Williams under either of these categories as they were later understood. "Positive" would do better than any other single word to describe his position. He sympathized with the Christians under persecution, admired their faith and constancy, and was later friendly with the Orthodox Bishop Nicolai. He said: "The Japanese Government is cruelly persecuting native Christians at the same time that it is inviting Christian missionaries to positions in connexion with educational institutions." While himself resident at Nagasaki, he refers to Dr. Verbeck of the Reformed Church in America as the only Protestant missionary at that place.

All this was very much out of accord with the point of view of the Foreign Committee and with that of other missionaries as well as of the (English) Church Missionary Society. Several of our own missionaries in China as well as Mr. Liggins, now in America, wished Roman Catholic missionaries to be deprived of diplomatic protection. The March, 1872, number of THE CHURCH MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER (English) said: "There should be a most distinct and earnest disclaimer made of all complicity with Rome, her doctrines and practices: 'come out of her my people that ye be not partakers of her sins' . . . We have noticed, with extreme regret, attempts on the part of our statesmen to cast the mantle of British protection over Romish missionaries."

<sup>14</sup>Osaka had been a great port during the days of the Shogunate, when large quantities of rice from the west coast and other raw goods were brought there for handling and distribution. It was still thought of as such in 1870, but by 1880 Kobe, which was fifteen or twenty miles down the bay and beyond the bar dangerous for vessels with a draught of more than eight feet, had displaced it.

<sup>15</sup>Bishop Williams' contacts up to this time had been mainly with the Samurai and mercantile classes, who were all literate. In any case the adult population was at least 20% literate; ahead of most European countries of that date.

was not introduced. All the students wore swords!<sup>16</sup> Apart from this there could not have been much need for any *vis à tergo*, as Japanese students of that day were all eager to learn. None of them went to a mission school for fun or under compulsion.

It was an easy matter to make the religion of Christ, "the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, My Duty Towards God and My Duty Towards My Neighbour", a part of the curriculum. Not only were the missionaries of those early days in a position to lay down the terms upon which they would impart the European learning so eagerly sought: there was also an anxiety, felt by many Japanese, to find out what part if any religion had played in making Europe so formidable. Some missionaries (not Messrs. Williams and Morris) went a long way toward suggesting that good gunnery was a by-product of Protestant Christianity.

The school thus operated was effective in bringing in many catechumens and some converts, so that in addition to asking constantly for more priests and a medical man Bishop Williams began to desire the services of a Female Missionary<sup>17</sup> in order to open a similar school for girls.

Scarcely had Bishop Williams settled at Osaka, (as near to the Capital, Kyoto, as foreigners were allowed to reside), when the government decided not to remove the administrative plant from the Shogun's former seat at Yedo, but to make it a secondary capital under the name of Tokyo (Eastern Capital).<sup>18</sup>

As Yedo (Tokyo) already had a concession set apart for foreign residence, Bishop Williams immediately set about opening work there. This he was able to do in 1873 when he received reinforcements,—two priests, Messrs. Miller and Quinby,<sup>19</sup> both "married, with little ones", who with Dr. Henry Laning, an able physician and devoted missionary and a man after Bishop Williams' own heart, were stationed at Osaka: and three young deacons from Nashotah, Blanchet, Cooper

<sup>16</sup>Apparently, to judge from Mr. Morris' account, they wore them in the class-room. Probably he had not thought of providing sword-racks. Under the old regime Samurai students checked their swords in the school entry-way.

<sup>17</sup>Down to about 1866 they had been called "Female Assistants". At about that time "Female Missionary" made its appearance, and by 1870 it was vogue. Since then they have been called a variety of things.

<sup>18</sup>Foreigners naturally, since all diplomatic intercourse is conducted there, think of Tokyo as the capital of Japan: but it is only the Eastern Capital, Kyoto is more revered by the Japanese. The enthronement and other imperial ceremonies take place there. Tokyo is a place for doing the "dirty work" of government.

<sup>19</sup>Mr. Miller was very soon transferred to China. Mr. Quinby was not very well suited to the work. He was transferred to Tokyo in 1877 and left the field a few years later. He was remembered for having built the most comfortable of the missionary residences, one at Osaka and one at Tokyo.



and Newman,<sup>20</sup> who were placed at Tokyo, where for some time they lived and studied Japanese with the newly arrived S. P. G. missionaries, Shaw, who was later Archdeacon, and Wright. Here within a short time they were joined by Bishop Williams, who, with the opening of the school, now St. Paul's University, spent most of his time there. With the election, in 1877, of Bishop Schereshevsky for China, he took title as Bishop of Yedo,—“Tokyo” having not yet worked its way into popular usage.

In 1873 the Reverend Wm. Hobart Hare resigned as General Secretary of the Board of Missions to become Bishop of Niobrara. He had been sympathetic toward Bishop Williams' “positive teaching”, and continued for many years to take a friendly and useful interest in the Japan Mission. He was succeeded by the Reverend Dr. Twing, (*ob.* 1882). During his time his sister-in-law, Miss Julia C. Emery, began her many years of service. During his time also the Reverend Joshua Kimber, one of the best of Christians and kindest of men, became a full time secretary.

Two impressions of Bishop Williams were recorded in 1873-4. The first is from the pen of the Reverend C. T. Blanchet,<sup>21</sup> then a deacon, describing his first meeting upon arrival: “There he, the Missionary Bishop to China and Japan was, in his stocking feet, with his overcoat on. . . . His food was rice, fish, eggs and tea.”

The other is from the S. P. G. missionary, Mr. Wright. Speaking of assisting at “the first ordination of the Reformed Catholic Church in Japan”, i. e., the priesting of Messrs. Blanchet and Cooper, he writes of “the love and veneration which we all feel for the good and self-sacrificing Bishop . . . he is truly a worthy successor of the Apostles”.

Miss Eddy came out in 1874 and, after a little training under Mr. Morris, who could give her the benefit of his experience at St. Timothy's School for Boys, opened St. Agnes' School at Osaka with five girls. Soon she was joined by two other women, while a few more, under Mr. Blanchet, began St. Margaret's School in Tokyo.

<sup>20</sup>Mr. Newman left in about a year, and Mr. Cooper, who had worked with great zeal and ability, had to leave in 1878, with “Japan head”. This convenient malady, unknown to science, has been used to cover everything from neuralgia to a desire to leave the country: but in Mr. Cooper's case it was a severe and eventually fatal attack of congestion of the brain.

<sup>21</sup>The retirement in 1885, at the age of forty, of the Reverend C. T. Blanchet, owing to the ill health of his wife whom he had married in 1877, was a great loss to the Mission and a tragedy for him. He was, under Bishop Williams, the founder of St. Paul's College and of St. Margaret's School, first head of both institutions, a brilliant linguist and student of all things Japanese, and a member of the first committee for the translation of the New Testament. Bishop Williams is said to have looked upon him as a possible successor. His whole heart was in Japan: but now, in middle age, he set himself to do what he could for the Church in America, filling small and middle sized parishes and dying “full of years and honour” in 1928.



Meanwhile Dr. Laning had started St. Barnabas' Hospital in Osaka.

Dr. Williams was accepted as Bishop by the American and English missionaries in Tokyo, and of necessity by the Americans in Osaka.

The C. M. S. missionaries at Osaka and elsewhere were less receptive. They were inclined to regard bishops as dignified officers of the Church of England rather than as a necessary grade in a necessary priesthood. Bishop Williams was obviously not an officer of the Church of England! It does not seem to be of record that any of their converts were confirmed before the coming of Bishop Poole in 1883.

By 1877 the work had acquired the outlines within which it was to move for the next twenty years. Bishop Williams had based the work of the American Church Mission upon two centres, the foreign concessions of Tokyo and Osaka. All of our missionaries resided in one or the other of these concessions. They opened churches and preaching places in other parts of these cities and were quite free to visit them during the day. Not until 1883 was any attempt made to go outside them, and then the few out-stations were but a few miles away. Missionaries were expected to spend their nights in the concessions except during the hot weather, when they could procure passports enabling them to go to certain mountain and shore resorts. As missionaries they could not reside regularly outside the concessions and Bishop Williams was strongly opposed to their representing themselves as being something else. Generally, the S. P. G. took the same position as did also the Roman Catholics.<sup>22</sup>

He himself set great store by direct evangelistic work and thought that all institutions should be subordinated to this purpose and have it as their sole *raison d'être*. As soon as he could, he opened stations outside the concessions. He had opened schools because missionaries could not reside outside the concessions; because the demand for Western and particularly English teaching was so great in relation to the supply of it that missionaries could give it on their own terms; and because the students of that day were all from the class to whom the people looked for leadership. He could not have foreseen a state of affairs in which cumbersome institutions out of all proportion to evangelistic needs would, in order to obtain official favour, exclude religious instruction from their curricula.

<sup>22</sup>St. Andrew's Mission (S. P. G.) was actually some miles from the concession in Tokyo: but this was within the law as one of its clergy was appointed chaplain to the British Legation, and thus for himself and his housemates enjoyed diplomatic immunity. Similarly Archbishop Nicolai, living at his cathedral in the Kanda ward, was chaplain to the Russian Legation and to all the Russian Consulates. The question of residence elsewhere for Orthodox missionaries never arose: as Bishop Nicolai's practice was to have no foreigners other than one or two theological teachers in his missions. He sent promising Japanese, after giving them preliminary instruction, to Russian and Greek monasteries to be trained for work in Japan. Several legations appointed Roman missionaries as chaplains.

His insistence that missionaries reside in the concessions so long as they could not honestly reside elsewhere exposed them to the enervating influences of treaty port life. He could not have foreseen the appointment by the Board of missionaries who would prove susceptible to these influences; though the development of institutional as compared with evangelistic work facilitated this. He would not have agreed with the Bishop of Calcutta who in the 1860s informed some critics that "Asceticism is no part of the Gospel system". It was a part of the Samurai ideal which inculcated hardness with elegance, and it was in keeping with this when, living in the utmost simplicity, he built the most splendid of our churches in Japan.<sup>23</sup> He would not have thought it contrary to the Gospel system to endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ.

However, even had he been able to foresee these untoward developments, he would almost certainly have followed the course he did as being in his opinion the only honourable one, and the only one consistent with the dignity of our religion. Other missions which followed it have been spared some of these developments. *Liberavit animam suam!*

Furthermore all that is good in the Holy Catholic Church in Japan is largely the result of his influence: and it was the honesty and sincerity of purpose informing the policy just described, that gave strength to this. The Japanese clergy whom he trained were generally true to his ideals and those of succeeding generations who were influenced by these men<sup>24</sup> are among the stalwarts of the middle-aged and younger Japanese clergy today.

<sup>23</sup>Trinity Cathedral was, at the time of Bishop Williams' resignation, the finest and most costly of our mission buildings. It was partly destroyed in the great earthquake of 1923 and what was left of it was pulled down to make room for the expansion of St. Luke's Hospital. A much less churchly and considerably smaller building of the same name was rather expensively erected in another part of the city some years after the earthquake.

<sup>24</sup>Notable among these was the Reverend Y. Sugimura, who died in 1929 after being for forty years pastor of the first church founded in Tokyo by Bishop Williams; Tokyo's "slum parish". At the time of Bishop Williams' death (late in 1910) he wrote:

"It was some thirty years ago . . . that I began to study with . . . the late Bishop C. M. Williams, and by his great efforts and an influence of his saintly character that acted upon my miserable self thirsting only for worldly fame, I was converted and baptised by the Bishop in December, 1881. In those days Christian influence in this country was very weak and almost all the students . . . were much disgusted with the religious instructions . . . When I was baptised, however, I had contrived how to surprise them by informing it . . . When the Bishop was going to preach in a chapel in Kanda, in which district many of my such anti-Christian friends were staying, I . . . persuaded them to hear this great man's sermon once . . . Having got the Bishop's permission beforehand, I spoke first and told them they were misunderstanding this true religion. By this unexpected conduct of mine, they had rather to give up their hope of me, while one of them . . . told others that he would kill me.

"Seeing such adverse circumstances . . . I thought it necessary to offer myself for the Lord's service. But for many years I could not prepare for Holy Order on account of many hindrances . . . At last, in 1888, I entered Trinity Divinity School . . ."

## THE MASSACHUSETTS DIOCESAN LIBRARY AND THE PARISH HISTORIAN.\*

*By Ann Maria Mitchell.*

**S**ERVING as Parish Historian is inherently a delightful adventure. Our religious forebears were generally meticulous in keeping full records of their daily activities, a task which they seem thoroughly to have enjoyed. So today he who will can exhume from the rather tedious volumes in which they lie concealed accounts of pioneer adventures in Churchmanship, as interesting and exciting as are the tales of the early American patriots, familiar to every schoolboy.

This field of research is practically virgin territory in which anyone may work unhampered by precedent. The American heroes of our secular history have emerged from the tests of analytical interpretation, extending over many years of study and research, with more or less conventional personalities. It is, however, still possible to reconstruct from original sources the personalities of the heroes of the early American Church, the men who welded the scattered parishes on this side of the Atlantic into the strong and unified organization we know today.

Here is the challenge to the Parish Historian: to revivify the stories of the Fathers of the early American Church until they are of as real importance and significance to American Churchmen as are those of the patriots who founded the American nation. The information is available, awaiting interpreters; the privilege and duty of familiarity with this information is part of our churchly inheritance.

The office of Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts was created in 1858, when the Rev. George M. Randall was appointed to that position, which he held until 1865, when he was elevated to the office of Bishop of Colorado. The Rev. William S. Bartlett succeeded him and served until his death in 1883.

These two men had carefully preserved such papers and records as had been put in their custody, but the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, who became the third Registrar, interpreted the duties of his new office in a different manner. His first official act was to read carefully the

*\*Editor's Note. This story is printed with the hope that other dioceses in the Church will follow the example of Massachusetts both in building a diocesan library and the appointment of Parish Historians.*

Act of 1858, and so be able to define exactly his canonical duty. He read there that the Registrar was "to procure all such journals, files, papers, reports, copies of charters and acts of incorporation of churches and other documents, as may be of value in the history of the diocese; and all this material is to be arranged, indexed, and otherwise put in such order that it may be accessible and useful".

Dr. Slafter then took account of stock. The Diocese in 1858 had made provision for appointing a Registrar, but had neglected to provide a depository in which to care for the material he was to conserve. As a result, Dr. Slafter found the material for which he had assumed the responsibility, stored in nine different boxes and in five or six different places.

The accumulations yielded, however, very valuable material as a nucleus for our future library: a collection of MSS. letters and documents of Bishop Bass and of Bishop Parker, some dating back to 1769, when Bishop Bass was acting as missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.), MSS. records of the official acts of Bishop Griswold for the thirty-two years of his episcopate, four MSS. folios of the diocesan conventions from the first in 1784 to 1806; also a complete set of printed reports of the diocesan conventions up to 1883; MSS. folio of proceedings of the diocesan Standing Committee from 1820 to 1833; MSS. historical sketches and records of parishes in the diocese; and, from Bishop Parker, MSS. papers from the Rev. William Clark, missionary for the S. P. G. to Dedham and Stoughton. These were a portion of the collection.

Dr. Slafter was astute enough to realize that this mass of valuable and interesting material was only a very small part of an incomparably richer supply of material, scattered through the diocese, which would be put at his disposal for the asking.

His first duty, however, was to provide a suitable depository before he began to "swell the volume" of the material to be "arranged, indexed, and otherwise put in such order that it may be accessible and useful". A room was secured from the library of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, which the trustees said probably could be spared "for a long time".

A call was sent out throughout the diocese, which then included the whole of the state of Massachusetts, appealing to the "clergy and intelligent laymen", to send material to the permanent honor of "this ancient and expanding Diocese" as part of a collection, "rich in rare and priceless historical material". In 1883, nearly one hundred years had elapsed since the first diocessan convention and nearly two

hundred since the organization of the first parish in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Three classes of material were asked for:

First. MSS. correspondence and documents, in "attics and other receptacles of rubbish", not of interest to possessors, but with a flavour of antiquity which has thus far preserved them from being turned over to the paper mill or being committed to the flames;

Second. Printed historical matter pertaining to the churches of the diocese of Massachusetts, such as sermons, pastoral letters, reports and local historical memoirs;

Third. Published works of clergy and of distinguished laymen;

Fourth. Historical material relating to churches outside the diocese of Massachusetts, whose history is so closely interwoven with ours; sets of Church Almanacs being particularly valuable;

Fifth. Historical material from non-Episcopal Communions.

The response was prompt and gratifying, as the people of the diocese ransacked attics, closets, secretaries and cellars, and the results descended on Dr. Slafter like a mighty flood. The people of New England have always been of a saving nature, sermons and other documents all had to be written out laboriously by hand, and, once written, seemed too important to be lightly destroyed. The printed word carried great weight and the costs of printing were becoming more reasonable; so "pamphleteering" was a popular diversion. "Intelligent laymen and Clergy" alike, and probably their wives, welcomed this opportunity to transfer the accumulations of years to the safekeeping of the diocese.

At the end of his first year of service, Dr. Slafter wrote a full account of his activities as Registrar, which he presented at the diocesan convention, and this report was printed in pamphlet form for general distribution through the diocese. In it, he published a list of donors and donations for the year. A similar report was written and published by him every year until his death in 1906. The Diocesan Library has a full set of these reports, and they are interesting reading.

Bundles of books were sent in, some of early date, others more modern. These were sorted, arranged and recorded. The Library now numbers between five and six thousand books. Also there were pictures and engravings of early American and English clergy, which possess great historic value. Our collection of such material is now large, and we are constantly adding to it.

The pamphlets, as they poured in, literally by the hundred, were bound together in groups of from ten to fifteen, with little attempt at classification, either chronologically or by subject. They were bound in red bindings and the tops gilded, so that they present a gay appearance on the library shelves. They are arranged in numbered series,



and have been partially indexed. The library has at present from seven to eight thousand pamphlets, bound and unbound.

Browsing around among the bound volumes of pamphlets is diverting. One takes down a volume from the shelves and nothing gives any indication as to its contents; almost any subject relative to Church history may greet you as you go through the pages. When you unearth a pamphlet relative to your particular field, you know the thrill of successful research, with none of the commonly attendant discomforts. Some day these volumes must all be ripped apart, classified, rearranged and fully indexed. The library will gain greatly in efficiency, but romance will suffer.

The MSS. material was sorted, arranged and recorded. Recently workers from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) have been employed in indexing these papers, a valuable piece of work.

Their research resulted in bringing to light two letters written by the Rev. David Livingston, African missionary and explorer, from the depths of the African jungle, to the Rev. D. G. Watt, an English clergyman with whom he carried on a long and interesting correspondence. These letters give us a more personal and intimate aspect of the great missionary explorer than is afforded us in his book of travels. Of so great interest were these letters that three broadcasts were made about them in 1937. They tell how, instead of impressing the savage tribes by acts of brute force, he trusted in the inherent kindness of his fellow-men and met only kindness in return. His weapons were spiritual.

In Dr. Slafter's first year of service, he increased the supply of diocesan Convention Journals from 689 to 1,624, with 367 duplicates to be used for the purpose of exchange. It was his ambition to have complete sets of the Convention Journals for every diocese in the United States, and this work has gone steadily on, until we now have Journals from every diocese, and in a large number of instances the collections are complete. Very recently the value of this collection has been greatly increased by the purchase of a large miscellaneous collection of Convention Journals.

Dr. Slafter did not depend on what was sent in voluntarily; he journeyed far afield in search of choice treasures for his library; he wrote letters by the score; he picked over and sorted piles of dusty rubbish in second-hand book stores and other out-of-the-way places. Many are the invaluable mementoes of our early Church history, now in our Diocesan Library, which were saved from destruction only by his untiring zeal.

The first Church magazine published in Massachusetts, July, 1820, was called *The Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocese*, the

name changed after six months to *The Gospel Advocate*. A full set of this publication for the first year, compiled and bound, is in the Library. The *Episcopal Register*, published from 1826 to 1830 in Middlebury, Vermont, is complete, except for one number. Dr. Slafter secured a complete file of the *Spirit of Missions*, from the first number issued in 1836, and we now have the full file up to date.

One of Dr. Slafter's earlier acquisitions was the MSS. papers of the Standing Committee of the diocese for sixty-four years, from 1820 to 1884. These were bound in thirteen folios, specially constructed with paper of Manila hemp, and the bindings "the best Turkey morocco", which, it was claimed, "would last for several centuries". Time, however, is forcing us to modify this last statement.

Particular effort was made to secure historical material pertaining to our early bishops. In 1886 Dr. Slafter secured the certificates of ordination of Samuel Parker, later second Bishop of Massachusetts, both as deacon and priest; the ordinations having taken place at St. James' Palace, Westminster, Feb. 24 and 27, 1774, and signed by the Bishop of London. He was commissioned "to perform the office of Minister or Priest in the Parish of Trinity, in Boston, or elsewhere in the Province of New England in North America". The library also acquired the certificate of his consecration as bishop. A very rare account of the proceedings in Boston at the return of Bishop Bass from his consecration in Philadelphia, the reception given in his honor, and his charge to the clergy is of great interest. The library also possesses a lottery ticket, dated from New Haven, in 1826, as authorized by statute, and entitled "Connecticut State Lottery Ticket for the Benefit of the Bishop's Fund".

A grouping of pamphlets was made under the title of *episcopiana*, which included publications by bishops or works pertaining to bishops, in all dioceses. These are in addition to the large number MSS. sermons of early American bishops, as well as papers, sermons and accounts pertaining to the English clergy of pre-Revolutionary days.

A collection of Prayer Books started by Dr. Slafter has been increased until there are now about two hundred. There are copies of all the editions of the Prayer Book for King's Chapel, including the first edition of 1785, which is very rare. There is a Prayer Book, printed in 1762, probably used during the Revolution, with prayers added in manuscript writing, which appears to be that of Bishop Parker, indicating that the book was used in Trinity Church. There is also a copy of the "proposed" Prayer Book of 1785.

During the War of the Rebellion, a Prayer Book for the use of the Confederate Churchmen was edited hastily in Virginia and sent to England for publication. The ship which brought the printed Prayer

Books back to this country was captured while attempting to run the blockade, and the Prayer Books were interned in New York until the end of the war. This was just as well, for, in the hasty editing, one prayer was overlooked, and while the Southern Churchmen were bidden to pray for the success of their troops on the battlefield, on the sea they were bidden to pray for the success of the Navy of the United States of America. The library has a copy of this Prayer Book.

Both Bishop Paddock and Bishop Brooks were deeply interested in the success of the work which Dr. Slafter had undertaken as part of his official duties and realized its great value to the diocese. Bishop Brooks, at one time, made it a rule to give one book a month to the library, and to give the Registrar ten dollars yearly to be used for the purchase of rare or valuable books, which would increase in value with the passing years. On one occasion, the Bishop sent a priced list of books from a second-hand dealer in New Jersey, directing Dr. Slafter to select such books as he desired and have the bill sent to the Bishop's office; nine books were selected.

By 1892 the diocesan office accommodations had become wholly inadequate, and the building now occupied at No. 1 Joy St. was purchased. This was an old Boston mansion, built for a private residence by Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., on a piece of land originally part of "Joy's Garden". Two connecting rooms on the third floor were assigned for the use of the library. Dr. Slafter reports that the mansion possessed a "muniment room", built of iron and steel. The library was then moved from the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge to its new quarters.

When Dr. Slafter undertook the work of Registrar, he was sixty-eight years of age, an age when most men would feel they had earned the right to retire from active life; and his life had been very active. He carried on this work with the high degree of efficiency evident from this account until his death in 1906, at the age of ninety.

He was ordained in 1844 by Bishop Eastburn. At that time there were in the diocese fifty-seven ordained clergy; at the time of his death there were two hundred seventy-three.

Dr. Slafter was a historian of note. He was a member and on the board of the Massachusetts Historical Society; a member and for two years on the council of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society; a member of the Vermont Historical Society and of the New Hampshire Historical Society; also Honorary Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain. He wrote interestingly and extensively on historical matters. When the Prince Society, an organization founded in 1858, having for its object the publishing of rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America, was incorporated, we find Dr. Slafter's name among the incorporators. He held the office of Recording Secre-

tary, Vice President, and, from 1880 until his death, that of President. The membership list was one of high distinction.

After Dr. Slafter's death the work languished. Material continued to come in until so much had accumulated that the space available was full to overflowing; there was no room for further expansion. In 1910 the Diocesan Convention passed a resolution to refer to the Registrar, Dr. Addison, the question of giving or loaning the books either to the Massachusetts State Library or to the Boston Public Library.

It was learned that the State Library was only for legislative reference material; the Boston Public Library could not keep so large a collection together as a unit, but would have to distribute the material through the files. The diocese then awoke to the situation, and, in view of Dr. Slafter's untiring and invaluable work, vetoed any such plan as unworthy of consideration, unless it proved utterly impossible to devise a workable plan for keeping the collection intact. Three plans were suggested: first, a new or enlarged Diocesan House; second, that space be secured in the Chapter House at the Cathedral; third, that a room of sufficient size be secured in the new Library of the Episcopal Theological School.

In 1913 a room was hired in the Boston Storage Warehouse for a portion of the overflow. Then the World War was upon us and interest turned to other matters. In 1915 the collection was again stored at the Episcopal Theological School, awaiting the turn of events, while affairs of more pressing importance held the attention of the diocese.

Finally the pressure for additional space in every department became so urgent that in 1927 elaborate plans to remodel and enlarge the Diocesan House were made. These included a fireproof unit for the library to be erected as a sixth floor, a sort of pent-house arrangement.

The late Bishop Slattery worked untiringly on these plans for the additions to the Diocesan House. It was his dream to have the library properly housed in a beautiful room with a fireplace and with furnishings of distinction; a room where comfortable chairs, the books on the shelves, the current religious magazines, and large study tables should form an inviting retreat for purposes of reading, research, or merely "browsing around". He lived to see his dream realized.

The contracts were signed in June, 1928, and the contractors hoped to have the building completed in seven months. It was found that the proposed plans would carry the building to a height which would conflict with the building laws and meet with objections from the abutters. Finally it was arranged to lower the ceiling and abandon the plan of carrying the elevator up from the fifth to the sixth story. This means that visitors to the library have to walk up the last flight of stairs; this seemed to be the only solution.

The room, when finally reached, is, however, a delight. It faces the South and West, is flooded with sunshine, with a view extending to the Blue Hills of Milton and over the Charles River Basin to Brookline. An oriental rug, twenty-four feet by twelve, made by the Kurds of southern Persia, in the Shah Abbas design, is on the floor, a gift to the new library. At one time this rug was much larger, experts say, twenty feet wide, and the length in proportion. The rug is known as the "Iron rug of the East", and, as originally made, its value was several thousands of dollars.

There is a roomy fireplace, and over it hangs a portrait painting of Bishop Brooks. There is a variety of chairs, some of historic value, two of these formerly owned by Bishop Brooks and presented to the library by his two brothers, and other chairs of less value but extremely comfortable. There are old chests, desks and tables, each with its history. The library has recently acquired a glass showcase, in which small articles may be kept on exhibition, the exhibit being changed from time to time. The library is indeed a delightful place in which to linger and refresh one's soul.

A trained librarian was soon found indispensable, both to keep the mass of accumulated material in order and readily accessible, and also to care for the incoming material. In 1933 Miss Ruth Alexander, a Simmons graduate, was appointed Librarian, but, unfortunately, funds permitted her employment for only half time. The volume and importance of the work is so large and so great that a diocese as outstanding as that of Massachusetts needs the services of a full time librarian.

The Diocesan Convention appointed a Library Committee to confer with the Registrar, Dr. John W. Suter, about the best methods of extending the usefulness of the library. As a result a canon was enacted in 1935, which decrees that the rector of each parish shall appoint a Parish Historian, and that each parish, through the Parish Historian, shall see that the Diocesan Library is supplied with all publications, pictures, weekly leaflets, if any, printed sermons, newspaper articles, any current material pertaining to the parish activities. The parish historians are to hold four yearly meetings and are members of the Library Committee. Prof. Joseph H. Beale, of the Harvard Law School, was made chairman of the Library Committee.

Many of the clergy responded promptly and notified the Librarian that a Parish Historian had been appointed. Most of the historians accepted their appointments seriously and some parish histories have appeared, while others are being written. Too many of the clergy, sad to say, despite the "shall" plainly printed in the canon, put off this duty until a second or third reminder from the Librarian brought them



into line. A few there are who, even yet, have not heeded the canonical "shall". We may hope the delay is because they wish to give the matter of selecting a Parish Historian careful consideration; for it is an important and responsible office. The duties of the Parish Historian are twofold; first, gathering current material pertaining to the parish and its activities; second, studying and interpreting the past with a view to writing a parish history. Because a parish is young does not mean that it may neglect appointing a Parish Historian. No parish ever yet came into existence without the concerted action of a group of men and women; no parish ever grew to maturity without its quota of struggles and difficulties, of defeats and triumphs, the taking of counsel and the formulating of policies.

As it grows, a parish develops a personality of its own; every parish has its distinctive qualities, peculiarly its own. The town of Provincetown at the tip end of Cape Cod rejoices with reason over the parish church, St. Mary's-of-the-Harbor. Though young and small, few parishes have a more distinctive place of worship. By joining forces with the summer colony of skilled craftsmen in the various arts, the parish can point to a result which, while strictly churchly, has an atmosphere in keeping with its unique New England setting.

Pre-Revolutionary Trinity Parish raised the money for its foundation by subscriptions carrying with them the right to the ownership of pews; this was distinctly an American method of procedure. The pew-holders were called the proprietors and held the governing power in the parish. This arrangement still holds in that parish.

In contrast to this, the Parish of the Advent, not yet one hundred years old, founded as a free Catholic parish, knew at the time of its founding that it faced bitter animosity. The founders took careful precautions to ensure the perpetuity of the ideals with which it came into being. The control of the parish was vested in a close, self-perpetuating corporation, a startling procedure for that time, as close corporations did not begin to become common or popular in the business world until two decades later.

It is to the Diocesan Library that the Parish Historian turns as his primary source of material. But he has, as well, his duty to the library, which is to keep it fed regularly with fresh material. A capacious filing cabinet has been installed with a folder for every parish in the diocese. Here it is expected one may turn and find information about any parish in the diocese, and this is a charge on every Parish Historian. At his service is placed the stores of general information available on the shelves and in the cupboards.

Directing one's mind to the matter of a parish history, the wealth of information is so great that it is difficult to decide what to select

and what to omit. How can one tell if an event is part of a greater religious movement or merely ephemeral. Some struggles and strifes bring in their train consequences which last for years; others, seemingly more bitter, may die down leaving no trace. It is a matter for careful judgment and discrimination.

A young parish has the advantage of being able to gather first hand material, while the older parishes must gather how and where they may. From those who remember the early, struggling days of a parish, one obtains a vividness of detailed description not available by a less direct method. Also, early documents, newspaper articles, pictures, programs, snapshots and photographs are all of importance. Follow the example of Dr. Slafter and go foraging.

If the parish has no fireproof or secure place in which to store its historical collection, it is better to deposit it in the safekeeping of the Diocesan Library. Better yet, when possible, collect duplicates and so have two depositories. An exhibition of parish historical material is sure to arouse interest, even though it be but a small one. It is interesting to see what treasures will come to light as a result.

On more than one occasion during its history, our Diocesan Library came perilously near disintegration, as this narrative clearly indicates. Our system of public libraries began early in our history and they are now firmly intrenched as an American institution; no one questions their importance and significance in the development of our national life. Our churches now possess both numbers and wealth so that our religious libraries should be equally secure, beyond the fear of assault from economic or other changes.

More books about Church history, written in easy, readable style, both for the young and for adults, can be absorbed with enjoyment by our reading public. More attention by departments of Religious Education to serious and scholarly study in the field of religious history, and of American Church history, in particular, is something to be considered. The schools of higher learning are directing the attention of students working for their doctorates to research in religious history as a fertile field for original and fruitful study.

The memorial presented at the first meeting of the diocesan convention after the death of Dr. Slafter suggested a library building, with his name over the door, as a permanent memorial of his invaluable work for the diocese. The library is already outgrowing the limits of the beautiful room, which, only a few years ago, seemed quite adequate for our needs; and more material is coming in all the time. Our library must really serve two dioceses, since that of Western Massachusetts was separated so recently that much of our material must be used in common, as our heritage is a common one. A separate fireproof building for our Library seems to be our next goal.

## THE REVEREND JOHN DOTY.

1745—1841.

*By John W. Lydekker.\**

JOHN DOTY was born at Albany, New York Province, on May 8, 1745. His birth occurred in the same year as the "Young Pretender's" rising in Scotland, which took place exactly thirty years before the rebellion of the American Colonies.<sup>1</sup> Although the celebrated "Forty-five" in no way affected John Doty's family or fortunes, yet in the succeeding generation he himself was destined to become one of the leading "Tories" who suffered for their loyalty in the Revolutionary War.

John's father, Jabez Doty, belonged to one of the oldest families in America, being descended from Edward Doten, who was one of the original *Mayflower* emigrants of 1620 and a signatory of the instrument which founded the Government of New Plymouth in that year.<sup>2</sup> Jabez Doty married Mary Ann, daughter of John Price, a lieutenant in the Queen's Fusileers stationed at New York. He was born at Plymouth on January 1, 1716, where his family had resided for nearly two hundred years.<sup>3</sup>

At the age of twenty-three John Doty entered King's College, New York, (now Columbia University), where he remained for two years, but left in the spring of 1770 without taking his degree. On May 15 he married Lydia Burling, (from whom he was subsequently divorced), and during the summer of that year he officiated at St. Peter's, Courtland Manor, near Peek's Kill in the New York Province, as a lay-reader. This church had been built in 1767, and in August (1770) a Royal Charter was issued by Lieut.-Governor Colden for the incorporation of the parish<sup>4</sup> which included St. Philip's Chapel in the Highlands.

In October the Churchwardens and Vestry wrote to the S. P. G. asking that John Doty should be appointed their missionary.<sup>5</sup> He himself had already sailed for England for ordination, and on October 23

\*Archivist to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

<sup>1</sup>The first battle, Lexington, was fought on April 20, 1775.

<sup>2</sup>vide. *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, (Everyman ed.), pp. 24-5, Edward Doten's descendant, Jabez Doten, changed the original spelling of the name. (cf. E. Clowes Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, pp. 64-5.)

<sup>3</sup>H. C. Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup>Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, pp. 22, 65.

<sup>5</sup>S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 18, p. 475.

he was ordained deacon in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and admitted to the priesthood in the same precincts on New Year's Day, 1771, by Dr. Philip Yonge, Bishop of Norwich.<sup>6</sup>

In response to the Vestry's appeal the Society had approved Mr. Doty's appointment to St. Peter's in the previous month,<sup>7</sup> and in May (1771) he returned to America. A few weeks later (July 16) he was formally admitted as Rector of St. Peter's by a proclamation of Governor William Tryon.<sup>8</sup>

For the next two and a half years there is no mention of Mr. Doty in the S. P. G. records, but in December, 1773, he wrote the following account of his activities to the Bishop of London:

Schenectady in the Province of New York  
December 19: 1773

My Lord

Your Lordship may remember that the Cure from which I received a Call to the ministerial Function, and to which, being Ordained by your Lordship, I was appointed, as well as licenses for the whole Province; was the Parish of St<sup>t</sup> Peter's at Peek's Kill in the Province of New York. This Cure consists of two Congregations, viz<sup>t</sup> that of St<sup>t</sup> Peter's Church at Peek's Kill, and another (St<sup>t</sup> Phillip's) about six miles to the Northward of it; both situated on the East side of Hudson's River, and about Eighteen or Twenty Leagues from New York. The former is incorporated, and St<sup>t</sup> Peter's considered as the Parish Church; the latter being only a Chapel of Ease.

Col. Robinson<sup>9</sup> (a Gentleman who owns some tenanted Lands near Peek's Kill) to facilitate the design of establishing the Church in those parts, made the Corporation of St<sup>t</sup> Peter's an offer of the fee simple of a Farm of two hundred and one Acres of Land, as a Glebe, for the perpetual Benefit of both Congregations; provided they (the former) would pay the Tenant for his Improvement (which was estimated at about one hundred and twenty pounds Currency,) and build upon it a parsonage House. This they agreed to do, and to have the House ready for me by the beginning of the ensuing summer. But, on my Return amongst them from England (which was on the 15<sup>th</sup> May 1771) I found that they had not by any means fulfilled their Engagements with respect to the House; yet this I readily overlooked, hoping that my safe Arrival and needy Circumstances, would excite them to proceed in future with greater diligence in the Execution of their purpose: And, in the mean time, my Wife and Self were very kindly entertained

<sup>6</sup>C. F. Pascoe, *200 Years of the S. P. G.*, p. 855.

<sup>7</sup>S. P. G. *Journal*, Vol. 18, p. 473.

<sup>8</sup>Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, p. 71.

<sup>9</sup>This was Colonel Beverley Robinson, ancestor of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., Chief-Justice of Upper Canada 1829-63.

by Col. Robinson, who was at that time one of the Wardens. Under his hospitable Roof we continued for eighteen Months; at the expiration of which time, the House being made habitable though not finished, we entered into it; and remained there until about three weeks ago, when, for reasons which I beg leave to lay before your Lordship, I removed to this Place.

Before I went to England, a Subscription was opened in the Neighbourhood of Peek's Kill, for my support, as Missionary from the Society for Propagating the Gospel &c: This Subscription amounted to about £60 Currency p. ann, a Sum much too little for my decent Support. Of this I received the first year after my Return about £49, the Second about £47, and the third £17; and that too my Lord not without much difficulty. For, though I have regularly received from the Congregation of St Philip's (which is very small and poor) their Part of the Annual Subscription, amounting to about £27 (except for the last five or six months) yet that of St Peter's was extremely diffident, especially the last year, for which I have not received two Guineas. Of this neglect I frequently complained to them, representing the great Embarrassments under which I laboured by reason of it; but to very little purpose. This early disappointment convinced me of the absolute Necessity of having some security for a living; especially as there was in reality no subscription (except from the Congregation of St Philip's who had renewed theirs not long after my return) I not being the Society's Missionary. Accordingly I gave Notice for a Meeting of the principal Members of the Congregation of St Peter's Church, on whom I chiefly depended, they being by much the largest and richest of the two; at the same time signifying the Nature of the Business to be entered upon. When the day appointed was present, I repaired to the Place of meeting, where I found about thirteen or fourteen Persons Convened. To these I proposed my difficulties, and requested, that if they were desirous of my continuing with them, they would open a New Subscription, payable to any Six or Eight of the Ablest Men amongst them, for my Support during my Residence with them as their Minister; and that when they had procured a sufficient Number of subscribers, those Six or Eight Persons should give me security jointly and severally, for the sum of £40 Cur<sup>y</sup> p. ann, of such subscription Mony. This I judged very equitable as they themselves acknowledged, that they could raise much More than £40 p. ann by Subscription; and, as the whole of such Subscription would be transfered to them as an Indemnification. After some dispute a subscription was opened and signed by them to the amount of about £19. They then desired to have a fortnight to compleat the subscription, and give me an Answer; upon which we adjourned until that time. A few days after this I set out on a Journey of above a hundred Miles; on my return from which I was seized with a Violent and dan-



gerous fever, which reduced me very low and rendered me incapable of going abroad for Six Weeks. As soon as able, I appointed another Meeting to know what was done, when I found the Subscription very little augmented, no one having given himself any great trouble about it: Nay one of the Vestry did not hesitate to declare, that he thought £40 p. ann too much and therefore that he did not care to be very Active in Procuring it; and every one of them refused to give me any proper Security for a Living.

This, my Lord, I took extremely hard, first because the sum requested was very moderate, all my Income at Peek's Kill (had they done all I desired) not being above one half of what my Brethren and Clergy generally enjoy in America; and those of whom I requested it, very able to have secured me even £50 p. ann. Secondly because I had refused five different Offers chiefly for their sakes, knowing them to be a needy People: The two first of these Offers were made by Doctor Burton<sup>10</sup> while I was still in London; and the other three since, by different persons, during my residence at Peek's Kill. Thirdly, because I humbly thought that My Labours amongst them merited better treatment. For besides the common Exercises of the Sabbath, and a Constant readiness at their Call, I held frequent Lectures, particularly last Winter, during which I lectured three days in the Week successively, in as many different Parts of my Cure, to one of which I rode three miles and a half, and to another five miles; At each of Which Lectures I catechised the Youth, to the amount of about forty, in the Whole.

Upon the above mentioned refusal I was about to resign the Key to one of the Wardens (who was then present,) when it was proposed to adjourn for a few days, to consider further above it, which I consented to; yet resigned conditionally, Viz<sup>t</sup> that if by such time they did not agree to give me proper Security, I was no longer their Minister. At the time appointed they met again, and after much altercation, sent two of their Company to inform me, that they were willing to give me Security for a Living during three years, but no longer. This proposal I thought unreasonable, and therefore refused it; and having offered myself to the Congregation of St Philip's, they through their Poverty, were obliged to decline it: upon which I accepted of a Call given me a few days before by the Church at this Place (Schenectady), and in a short time after left Peek's Kill with a heavy heart, though blessed be God! with a good Conscience.

These Reasons I hope will be esteemed sufficient to justify my Conduct to your Lordship, for which purpose I have been so particular in laying them before you; and because I think it a duty incumbent upon me to Acquaint your Lordship with

<sup>10</sup>i. e. the Rev. Daniel Burton, D. D., Secretary of the S. P. G. from 1761 to 1773.

my removal, though in so doing I have not transgressed the limits of your Licence. And I would further observe to your Lordship, that though by the ungenerous Conduct of a few Individuals, the Interest of the Church has declined at Peek's Kill; yet the far greater part of the Congregation, who are poor, are very desirous of having the Church established amongst them. And I cannot help lamenting to your Lordship their unhappy disappointment in their application to the venerable Society, by whom had there been about £40 sterl<sup>s</sup> allowed (which I doubt not they would have allowed had it been Convenient) I could and would have willingly staid even though I should not have received one farthing from the People. Not that I could even then have lived as I humbly think one in My Character ought to live; but because I would much rather have been pinched a little, and live in the simplest Manner, than have left them; the truth of which Declaration is well known to every one who is acquainted with my Manner of living from the time that I came amongst, to the day in which I left them.

The Gentleman who has hitherto ministered in the Church at this place, your Lordship, by turning to the Society's Abstract, will find to be the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Andrews. The principal Reason of his going from hence (as I have been informed) was the scantiness of his Income, which obliged him to undertake the Care of a Grammar School, the Confinement of which he said, at length impaired his Health. In the Care of this School, as well as in that of the Church I have succeeded him; and I flatter myself too, in the enjoyment of the venerable Society's annual bounty. To approve myself a person not unworthy of their Benevolence, and of your Lordship's paternal Regard, shall be the Constant Study of

My Lord,

your Lordship's most dutiful & obedient Son & Servant

John Doty

The Right Rev<sup>d</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Lord Bishop of London.<sup>11</sup>

A few days before the date of this letter, the Church Wardens and Vestry of Schenectady wrote to the Society corroborating Mr. Doty's letter and asking that his appointment might be confirmed. This was agreed to, the Society resolving that Mr. Doty should receive £40 per annum towards his stipend.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile the political unrest which had fomented in the American Colonies since the passing of the Stamp act ten years before was swiftly approaching a climax, and in April, 1775, the skirmish between British regulars and colonial militia at Lexington began the Revolutionary War. In common with the other S. P. G. missionaries John Doty soon became the object of a peculiar hatred to the republicans.

<sup>11</sup>S. P. G. "B" MSS., Vol. 3, No. 13.

<sup>12</sup>S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 20, pp. 84-5.

He was twice arrested and his Church was ransacked by the "Patriots". On the second occasion of his arrest he was taken to Albany by an armed escort and required to take an oath of neutrality. This he refused to do, but fortunately for him he had some influential friends among the republicans who procured his release.<sup>13</sup> He returned to Schenectady and after several months of persecution he managed to make his escape to Montreal in October, 1777.

Under date of May 20, 1775, he writes from Montreal:

Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir

Your very kind letter of October 28th. 1774 I received in the beginning of the following Winter; for which, on my own, and the behalf of my flock, I beg leave to return the most grateful acknowledgments. As the season was then too far elapsed to admit of writing I deferred an answer until the Spring, when I designed to have transmitted an exact account of the Mission, and to have been constant and regular in my correspondence; but the general infatuation at that time rendering it imprudent to correspond even with a private friend, I was obliged to wait for a more favourable Opportunity. After this our affairs proceeded from bad to worse, the friends of Government were persecuted in every quarter, and consequently the Church and its true members did not escape. I shall not trouble you with the illiberal treatment which myself, my congregation, and even the House of our God have received from our factious neighbours—suffice it to inform you, that having been a sorrowful witness to the various sufferings of the one, above 15 months interrupted in the divine service of the other, and twice a prisoner myself, I thought it best with the advice and consent of my people to quit Schenectady; & retire with my family into the province of Canada. This happened on the 23d of October last, shortly after the unfortunate surrender of Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoyne, when the rebels, softened by their successes, permitted some few persons to go where they pleased.

At my first setting out I resolved to make the best of my way for England, where I hoped to remain in peace and quietness until the troubles in America were over, but my design was unexpectedly frustrated: before I could get here the ships were all sailed, and on my arrival I was nominated to be Chaplain in His Majesty's Royal Regiment of New York, of which Sir Jn<sup>o</sup> Johnson is Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col Commandant; and soon after received His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Sir Guy Carleton's appointment to that Corps. By this means I am provided with present support, and my past sufferings and losses are rendered in some measure tolerable: for judge how great must have been the difficulties with which I struggled for two years and six

<sup>13</sup>cf. his evidence before the Loyalist Commission in London (1783) *Public Record Office, Audit Office Papers*.

months, when the price of every necessary was increased at least three fold on an average, and the ability of my Congregation to support me less than ever. The greatest prudence could not prevent my becoming involved: and when I left Schenectady, the sale of my furniture and all my money, was insufficient to discharge my debts, and to defray the expences of my journey.

For these reasons I flatter myself that the Society (whose great generosity I have already experienced) will not be displeased at my conduct in leaving my flock, (Schenectady), and taking upon me another Charge: especially since it was not my intention to desert them wholly, but only for a season: that, escaping the present storm, I might be of use to them in future. It would excite in me the most painful remorse was I in any degree to merit the displeasure of my Benefactors, who will, I hope, still consider me as their servant in Christ: and honour me with the continuance of their friendship and employment. And indeed the great affection of my people (most of whom surrounded me at my departure and with weeping eyes took their leave of me) is of itself a great inducement to my return: an event for which I wait with the utmost anxiety, and in hope of which alone I remain at present in America. I say at present—for should I, after a while, be disappointed of my hope, and have no clear prospect of a speedy reestablishment of peace and good Government, I shall still endeavour to cross the Atlantic.

Having said so much of myself, it is necessary that I now inform you more particularly of the state of my Charge. And here, that it hath been on the decline for three years past, I hardly need to acquaint you—however, I thank God for it. at least two thirds of them are yet remaining in the Parish; and these all of decent deportment, attached to their Church and zealous for their King. In the course of my Ministration, I have baptized above one hundred infants; but the most of them were brought in from the circumjacent country, in which there are many poor families who belong to the Church of England, and amongst whom I have occasionally preached & baptized. But in the Town, when I left it, the number of souls under my care (exclusive of slaves) was 59, Viz<sup>t</sup>, 34 adults and 25 children, of the former of which 16 are Communicants, and of the latter about 12 are Catecumens: for I have made it a constant rule from the beginning, to catechise such of the children as were of sufficient age on every Lord's day afternoon, in the open Congregation, according to the Rubrick. And this practice, I hope, was not wholly in vain—I think it had a very good effect on some of the children, and I am persuaded, on the Congregation in general; the younger part of which especially was thereby at once instructed & admonished.

Nor have I been less attentive to the poor negro slaves, of which there are many in the place; and they for the most

part shamefully neglected. Soon after my settlement I opened a Catechetical Lecture for their benefit, and in a short time had about 20 pupils, of whom the diligence, attention, and improvement of the greater part made ample amends for my labours: for such as were unbaptized, on being sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith, presented both themselves and their children for baptism, and became sober serious regular Communicants; nor have I ever had the least reason to reprove them.

On the whole, my general Register is as follows. Baptisms, from November 28<sup>th</sup> 1773 to October 19<sup>th</sup> 1777, 120 Viz<sup>t</sup>, 93 White infants, 10 black infants; 2 White adults, 14 black adults, and one indian lad: Marriages in the same time 14; and burials, 10, Viz<sup>t</sup> 7 children & 3 adults: so that the Congregation consists of White adults 34, black adults 20; White children 25, black children 10; total number 89 Souls—of which the White Communicants being 16, the black 11, are in all 27; and the white Catechumens 12, & the black 20, are in all 32. From this account you will readily discern the present weakness of the Congregation, which hath, in reality but four & thirty supporters; and these for the most part very poor, there being among them but nine heads of families, and of these not above four or five that are in any prosperous way of living. However, from the small number, as from good seed sown in good ground, I hope in future to see a plentiful harvest. The Town, from its situation and other local circumstances, promises to be a flourishing one; and should the present unhappy contest terminate to our wish, and the Society continue their accustomed benevolence (of which there is more need than ever) I doubt not but a few years would make the Church of England as respectable in Schenectady as in other places.

Though the length of my letter remonstrates against it I must add, that the situation of Mr. Stuart at Fort Hunter was very disagreeable when I took my flight. He had been frequently threatened, and was obliged to be very retired. A great part of his flock having joined the Royal Army, are now in this Province under the direction of Col. Claus, at whose request I have taken upon me M<sup>r</sup> Stuarts duty to them, and have already baptized 2 Mohawk infants, and married one couple. I beg leave also to lay before you the inclosed\* from my Wardens, who were obliged to write in a general and open manner, to avoid any ill consequences from rebel inspectors.

And now, Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir, with repeated acknowledgements for past favors, I beg leave, in the humblest manner, to subscribe myself the Society's and your

Most obedient Servant in Christ

John Doty<sup>14</sup>

P. S. The Society's library I left in the hands of my Wardens.

<sup>14</sup>Letter (20 May, 1778), Doty to S. P. G., "C" MSS., (Canada).



To the Rev<sup>d</sup> Doctor Hind.

*\*Schenectady in the Province  
of New York North America  
22<sup>d</sup> October 1778*

Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir

*We beg leave to inform you, that the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Doty, our Missionary, is, by the distress of the times, compelled to retire from his Mission into the Province of Canada, from whence he hath some thought of sailing for England: that he went with our entire knowledge and approbation; and that his conduct during his residence among us, hath been, in every respect, becoming a Clergyman. We therefore (referring you to him for a more particular account of our affairs) do recommend him to the further Notice and benevolence of the Society, whom we sincerely thank for their appointment of him, & for all other favors: and still relying on their pious and charitable care we are, with the greatest respect to them*

Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir

*Your very humble Servants*

*John Brown  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Clench*

*Wardens*

To the Rev<sup>d</sup> Doctor Hind.

Soon after his arrival at Montreal Mr. Doty was appointed chaplain to the "Royal Regiment of New York", one of the loyalist units raised during the War and commanded by Sir John Johnston.<sup>15</sup> This appointment saved him from the destitution with which he was faced, as not only was he deprived of his salary from his former parishioners but also of his 300 acre freehold estate in the township of Belvidere, New York Province, which had been confiscated by the revolutionary government.<sup>16</sup> In a letter to the S. P. G. he wrote:

*I am [now] provided with present support, and my past sufferings and losses are rendered in some measure tolerable: for judge how great must have been the difficulties with which I struggled for two years and six months, when the price of every necessary was increased at least threefold on an average and the ability of my Congregation to support me less than ever. The greatest prudence could not prevent my becoming involved, and when I left Schenectady the sale of my furniture and all my money was insufficient to discharge my debts and to defray the expence of my journey . . . .<sup>17</sup>*

In the same letter Mr. Doty informed the Society that he had recently officiated to those of the loyal (Christian) Mohawks who had followed Colonel Claus<sup>18</sup> into Canada after the appropriation of their territory by the republican forces.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid. Sir John Johnson's father, Sir William Johnson, had died in 1774.

<sup>16</sup>cf. his Memorial to the Loyalist Commission, London (1783) Public Record Office, Audit Office Papers.

<sup>17</sup>Letter, (20 May, 1778), Doty to S. P. G., "C" MSS., (Canada).

<sup>18</sup>Col. Daniel Claus was Deputy Superintendent of the Mohawks. He had married Mary Johnson, Sir William's second daughter, and was himself a member of the S. P. G. cf. J. W. Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1938) p. 153.

A few weeks later Mr. Doty accompanied his regiment to Quebec and thence to Sorel, at that time a small garrison town some fifty miles below Montreal. Before the end of the year he obtained leave to return to Montreal to resume his work among the Mohawks,<sup>19</sup> and in his next letter (written on September 1st, 1779) he informed the Society that

Besides my Regimental Duty, I continue, according to my ability, to serve the Mohawk Congregation . . . They have a tract of Woodland allowed them for the present, about six or seven miles distant from this place [Montreal] where they have built a few temporary huts for their families, and in particular a small log house for the sole purposes of a Church and Council room. In this place I have read prayers on three different Sundays to the whole assembled Village, which behaved with apparent seriousness and devotion, and on my admonishing them to remember their Baptismal vows . . . one of their Chiefs answered for the whole, 'That they would never forget their Baptismal Obligations nor the Religion they had been educated in,'<sup>20</sup> and that it revived their hearts to find once more a Christian Minister amongst them and to meet together as formerly, for the Worship of Almighty God . . .<sup>21</sup>

For the next two years Mr. Doty remained at Montreal until October, 1781, when he sailed for England with his wife on a six months' leave of absence. He returned to Canada in the following Spring and again left for England in the autumn of that year (1782).<sup>22</sup>

During this second visit he compiled a valuable minute on "*The present state of the Church in the Province of Canada*", to which he appended a very interesting estimate of the Protestant families then resident in Canada.<sup>23</sup>

While in London Mr. Doty offered his services to the S. P. G. to work as their missionary at Sorel—although remarking that he would have preferred "to remain in this delightful country" [i. e., England].<sup>24</sup> The Society accepted his proposal and on June 12 (1784) he arrived at Quebec. After visiting the Governor, Mr. Doty proceeded to Sorel, which he reached on July 1. There being no house for his

<sup>19</sup>S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 21, pp. 497-8.

<sup>20</sup>The S. P. G. had carried on a mission to the Mohawks since 1704 and by 1746 the whole tribe was at least nominally Christian. Their great chief "King" Hendrick (Thoyanoguen) who was killed at the age of 80 while fighting under Sir William Johnson against the French at the battle of Lake George in 1755, was often known as "The Protestant Mohawk". cf. Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, passim.

<sup>21</sup>Doty, Letter to S. P. G., "C" MSS, (Canada).

<sup>22</sup>Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, pp. 82-3 and S. P. G. Annual Report, 1783, p. 57.

<sup>23</sup>The minute is recorded in full in S. P. G. Appendix to Journal A, No. 96.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., No. 95.

residence, he was given accommodation in the military barracks and on the following Sunday he held his first service (in the Roman Catholic Chapel), which was attended by "Dissenters, Lutherans and Churchmen". A few weeks later the Roman Catholic priest withdrew his permission for Mr. Doty to use the chapel and he (Doty) then obtained the consent of the military Governor, Major Johnson, to convert one of the barracks into a temporary church, which accommodated upwards of two hundred persons.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile the disastrous Revolutionary War, which had devastated the colonies for seven years, had at length terminated with England's acknowledgment of the independence of the United States in 1783. As a result the Society (under the terms of its Royal Charter) withdrew its services from the United States, the majority of its missionaries removing to Canada and other adjacent colonies. The consequent loss of a large number of their clergy gave rise to considerable apprehension in the American Church, and it is interesting to record that in October, 1784, the Church wardens and Vestry of Albany wrote to the Society that their parish having been without a minister since 1777 they had now elected Mr. Doty as their pastor, and that they hoped the Society would agree to this provided that Mr. Doty (with whom they had been unable to correspond) should himself concur. Although the request must have been somewhat embarrassing to the Society in view of its altered relationship to the Church in America, it nevertheless took the wise and courteous course of referring the matter to Mr. Doty himself.<sup>26</sup> The latter, however, declined the offer, feeling that "his duty as a Missionary [to Canada] claimed his superior regard".<sup>27</sup> The fact that Albany was John Doty's old home, where he had passed his boyhood days, probably made the invitation the more difficult to refuse, but to him the call for missionary endeavour seems to have outweighed other considerations.

In his next letter (dated September 30, 1786) Mr. Doty sent the following account to the Society:

That hitherto his labour has not been in vain. The number of actual Communicants has increased this year from 29 to 50, of which five were Catechumens from 16 to 19 years of age, and having been previously instructed several months, earnestly requested admission to the Lord's table.

That they have now a commodious Church, and conduct every part of Divine Service with decency & propriety. One of the best houses in Sorel, which cost building upwards of 150 guineas, being part of a Bankrupt's effects, Mr. Doty purchased

<sup>25</sup>*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 24, pp. 7-8.

<sup>26</sup>*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 23, pp. 430-1.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 218.

for only 15 guineas. He immediately repaired to Montreal, and in a little time collected above 30 guineas, which not only paid for the house, but enabled him, with the assistance of the Congregation, to finish it below after the usual form, so as to accommodate above 120 persons, and he performed divine service in it, for the first time, on Christmas day last when the house was crowded, and all present behaved with great devotion, and he administered the Sacrament to 32. That soon after this, he received a contribution of five guineas from Brigadier General Hope, their Lieut.-Governor & Comander in Chief; likewise a very good Bell, by the assistance of Capt. Barnes of the Royal Artillery; and some boards and timber from Capt. Gother Mann,<sup>28</sup> the Chief Engineer at Quebec. These liberal donations encouraged them to add a steeple to their Church, which was finished about Midsummer; and they hope in another year to compleat the inside by ceiling the upper part, and building the galleries.

The following is his Notitia for the year past: Baptised 21 Infants, 2 Adults. Communicants 50. Members of the Church, about 90. 1 Heathen, and 2 Converts. He has drawn on the Society for £50.<sup>29</sup>

Mr. Doty's description of the new church at Sorel is of special interest as a record of the foundation of the first English Church in Canada.

A year later the township of Sorel was surveyed by Capt. Gother Mann, and the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester, gave Mr. Doty and his parishioners a plot of land "in a most convenient part of the Town for the purpose of building a Church", as well as an adjacent plot for a parsonage. Lord Dorchester also allocated some 60 acres "of woodland" situated a few miles from the town as a glebe, and promised his assistance in the erection of the Church.<sup>30</sup> The building was not completed, however, until nearly three years later when it was opened on Sunday, October 3rd, 1790.<sup>31</sup> The church is thus described by Mr. Doty in a letter of October 15th, 1791:

It stands on the East side of the Royal Square in the centre, having the steeple in front. It is 35 feet wide by 45 feet deep, with a gallery over the door; and it is well lighted, especially by a Venetian window above the Chancel.<sup>32</sup>

It may here be mentioned that the town of Sorel had been renamed "William Henry" as a compliment to H. R. H. the Duke of

<sup>28</sup>*Gother Mann (1747-1830) laid out the townships of Toronto and Sorel. He ultimately rose to the rank of (full) General in 1821. cf. Dict. Nat. Biog.*

<sup>29</sup>*S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 24, pp. 366-7.*

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 42.*

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid., p. 334.*

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid., p. 407.*

Clarence (afterwards King William IV), who had visited the place during his voyage to Quebec as the captain of H. M. S. *Pegasus* in 1787.

In 1793 Mr. Doty visited New York, whither he had sent his wife to recuperate from her ill-health "occasioned by the severity of the climate". Soon after his arrival he was urged by some of his former American friends to settle at Long Island as the incumbent of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn.<sup>33</sup> He at first accepted the invitation, but after he had tendered his resignation to the Canadian government, Lord Dorchester requested him to lay the matter before the newly-appointed Bishop of Quebec, (Dr. Jacob Mountain), who was then on his way to Canada. As a result of his interview with the Bishop, Mr. Doty decided to remain at William Henry.<sup>34</sup> In September of this year H. R. H. Prince Edward Augustus (afterwards the Duke of Kent and father of Queen Victoria) visited the town and attended a Masonic service in his capacity of Grand Master of Lower Canada, at which Mr. Doty preached the sermon.<sup>35</sup>

During the years 1798-9 Mr. Doty extended his missionary activities by visiting St. Armand, a township situated some 90 miles from Sorel on the east side of Lake Champlain. Here he found an enthusiastic congregation of over a thousand persons, who belonged to the Church of England. He also journeyed to St. John's (Dorchester) "at the entrance of Lake Champlain" and to the village of L'Assumption, some 30 miles from Montreal, and he made several visits to the township of Berthier, situated on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence river.<sup>36</sup> Indeed Mr. Doty's energies seem to have increased in a remarkable manner as he advanced in years. His last letter to the Society reporting his activities (written in 1800) mentions his intention to make "another excursion further back in the woods" as "his concern for St Armand's was at end", the Bishop of Quebec having appointed a minister to that district.<sup>37</sup>

In September, 1802, Mr. Doty resigned his appointment as a missionary of the Society. In a letter announcing his resignation, he made vague allusions to "the malicious and inveterate party who gave him so much uneasiness about 9 years ago, and have at last prevailed".<sup>38</sup> It is not clear for what reason Mr. Doty was being attacked, but in a letter

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 179.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

<sup>35</sup>Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*, p. 108. Prince Edward Augustus then in command of the Royal Fusileers, had been sent to Canada in 1791. In October, 1793, he was promoted Major-General and accompanied Sir Charles Grey's force at the reduction of Martinique in the following year. cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

<sup>36</sup>*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 28, pp. 14-15.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 429.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 316.



to the Society, dated June 25, 1803, the Bishop of Quebec wrote that "a long string of charges were brought against him by the Magistrates and principal people of the town . . . and instead of meeting an examination upon them he chose to resign his Living . . .". From further statements in the Bishop's letter it would seem that he (the Bishop) considered Mr. Doty as quite unfit to continue his ministry,<sup>39</sup> but after this lapse of time and for lack of any definite evidence the Bishop's judgment can by no means be taken as conclusive.

After his resignation, Mr. Doty retired to Three Rivers, where he married Rachel Jeffery on July 28, 1819. He lived to the great age of ninety-six, his wife surviving him until March 1, 1860. In 1893 the then Rector of Three Rivers wrote that "Mr and Mrs Doty are still remembered by old residents, who speak of them as devout and honourable gentle-folk, always bearing the dignified manners and the courtly grace of a bygone age"<sup>40</sup>—an irrefutable statement which must surely carry weight in re-establishing the character of the aged missionary.

Mr. Doty was buried in the old cemetery at Three Rivers under a simple grave-stone bearing this inscription:<sup>41</sup>

SACRED TO THE MEMORY  
of  
the REVEREND JOHN DOTY  
who departed this life on the  
23rd of November, 1841  
Aged 96 years.  
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 375.

<sup>40</sup>Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*, p. 109.

<sup>41</sup>Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, p. 85.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*What Has The Episcopal Church Done for America?* By Nelson R. Burr. Holy Cross Press, West Park, N. Y. Pp. 26.

One of a series of "Problem Papers" issued by the Order of the Holy Cross. The question is answered in a clear and comprehensive summary of the manifold service rendered to all sorts and conditions of men, and is quite free from ecclesiastical partisanship. Written by a layman, it would be a great thing if it could be widely distributed among the laity.

*A History of the Church of our Saviour Protestant Episcopal in Longwood, Massachusetts, From Its Founding In 1868 to 1936.* Written and Compiled at the Request of the Parish Council of the Church by Herbert H. Fletcher, a Member of the Parish. Published by the Parish Council of the Church, Brookline, Massachusetts. 1936, Pp. 173.

The community of Longwood, in the town of Brookline, was founded by two brothers—William Richard and Amos Adams, sons of Amos Lawrence. To meet the spiritual needs of the community the brothers proceeded to found a parish and themselves bore the cost of erecting the church. It was consecrated by Bishop Manton Eastburn in 1868. In this beautifully printed and illustrated volume the story of its development is told in interesting fashion—told by a layman. It is interesting to note that the parish is still a close corporation, being governed by a self-perpetuating board of twenty-one. As far back as 1874 there were two women on the Board, and the method has worked so well that no change has been made. The Parish Council is to be congratulated on sponsoring this excellent History.

*Doctrine in the Church of England.* The Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine Appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922. New York: Macmillan Company. Pp. 242.

For all students of the history of Christian doctrine as generally held in the Anglican Church this volume is invaluable. The Commission, representing all schools of thought in the Church, spent fifteen years on its task. It was charged with the duty of considering "the nature and grounds of Christian doctrine with a view to demonstrating the extent of existing agreement within the Church of England and with a view to investigating how far it is possible to remove or diminish existing differences". The results are set forth in this book prefaced by an illuminating Introduction from the gifted pen of Dr. Temple, Archbishop of York. Large attention was given to those subjects concerning which there was most difference of opinion with the encouraging result of a larger measure of agreement than had been anticipated. The Report is eminently fair. Where agreement could not be reached, the fact is clearly stated, and it is noted that the removal or diminution of these differences "can only be rightly effected by the discovery of the synthesis which does justice to all of these".

E. C. C.